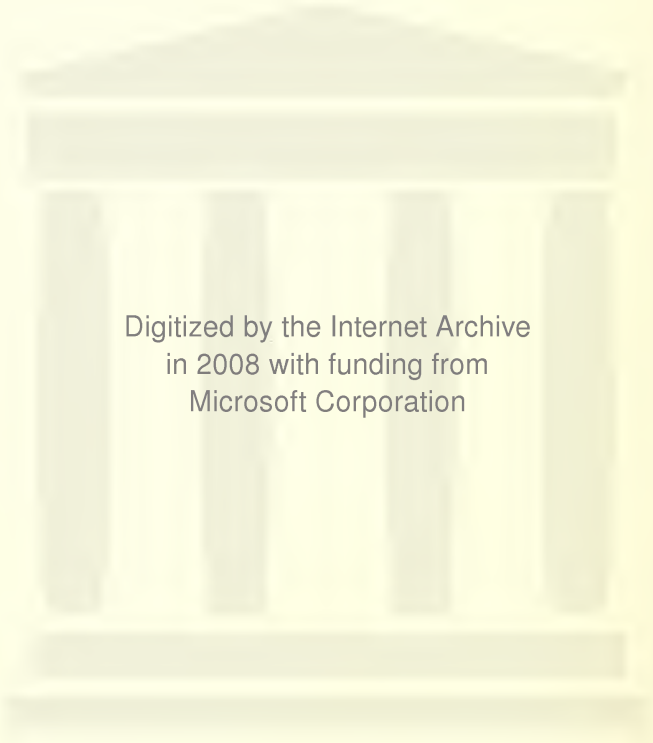

SHAKESPEARE IN JAPAN: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

BY

TOYODA MINORU, Litt.D.

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SHAKESPEARE IN JAPAN: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY.

By Toyoda Minoru, Litt.D.
(Professor of English Literature in the Imperial University of Kyūshū).

Dedicated to the memory of Dr. Tsubouchi, the first and so far the only translator into Japanese of the complete works of Shakespeare.

PREFACE.

This work has been written under the auspices of the Japanese "Society for International Cultural Relations". It was begun towards the end of August, 1935, some six months after the death of Dr. Tsubouchi, and before the end of the summer vacation the middle of the sixth chapter was reached. Since then, however, various causes have delayed the completion of the work until now.

I am inexpressibly grateful for the peace and tranquillity in which I have been able to finish my task, for that peace and tranquillity have been dearly won for us at home at the cost of peril and hardship to our brethren at the front in the midst of the China Affair. There come to my mind certain words in the general preface to a translation of *Hamlet*, published in 1905 as the first of a series of Japanese versions of Shakespearian plays, the joint enterprise of two able scholars. It was when the Russo-Japanese War was at its height, and the collaborators expressed, in their preface, their wonder at the placid security in which they had been able to engage in their work, which would stand as a mark, to later generations, of the high tide of the national spirit.

Not that I attach a similar significance to the present work; but I hope it will not be without some meaning, at once national and international. Many Western countries have their written histories of Shakespearian studies in their own part of this globe which the Poet's genius has made a pleasanter place to inhabit; the present addition to this kind of Shakespeariana will, I hope, by the story it tells, reflect credit on Japan as well as on the Poet's native country.

The contents of the present work are part of the material I have collected in the course of my researches into the history of English studies in Japan, a task which has been facilitated by the subsidy granted by the Imperial Academy. In compiling it I have had the valuable encouragement of Professors Ichikawa and Doi; to the former I am particularly indebted for some material of which he has kindly permitted me to make free use.

For improving the English of this work sincere thanks are due to my friend Francis L. Meyer, Professor of English Literature in the Hiroshima University of Literature and Science, and Lecturer in the Imperial University of Kyūshū.

N.B.—Throughout the work Japanese names, when given in full, are written with the surname first, followed by the individual name.

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I. The Gradual Approach to Shakespeare.

The first Englishman of any note to arrive in Japan was Will Adams, a contemporary of Shakespeare's. Adams was pilot of a Dutch merchantman, *de Liefde*, which in 1600 managed, almost a wreck, to reach the island of Kyūshū in South Japan. Adam's knowledge, so far as it went, of scientific and technical matters and the general state of the world, together with his sterling English character, seems to have been highly prized by Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who soon after became, as Shōgun, the political dictator of his country. Adams gave Iyeyasu some notion of Western mathematics, built him large ships, and advised him in foreign affairs. As a token of esteem the Shōgun granted him the privileges of a minor feudal lord: in a letter of 1611, addressed "To my vnknowne Frinds and Countrimen", Adams writes: "He hath given me a liuing, like vnto a lordship in *England*, with eightie or ninetie husbandmen, that be as my . . . seruants." He married a Japanese woman, by whom he had children, and spent the rest of his life in Japan. Through his good offices commercial intercourse was established between England and Japan, and an English "Factory" was set up at Hirado in Kyūshū, a little seaport where the Dutch "Factory" had been built a few years earlier.

In England at this time Shakespeare was enjoying the prosperity of his latter years. If business relations between the two countries had continued, he and his plays would have become known in Japan much sooner than they did; for the *Diary* of Richard Cocks, founder of the "Hirado Factory", shows that several English books made their way thither (among them being a volume of *Essaies*, which we may presume to have been Bacon's): but the English "Factory" was unable to hold its own against Dutch influence, then rapidly increasing in the East, and after about ten years it was given up. Soon after, the persecution of the Christians in Japan resulted in the closing of the

country to all foreigners except Dutch merchants and Chinese. This exclusion lasted for more than two hundred years, until, shortly before the Meiji era, Japan reopened its doors to the world at large.

Long before the Meiji era, however, there was opportunity for the study of English by a few specialists. It is true that the Western civilisation with which Japan first came in contact, through Jesuit missionaries, was of the Latin type and had very little to do with English literature; and for many years after the closing of the country Dutch was the only Western language that might be studied—this privilege, or duty, being monopolised by professional interpreters at Nagasaki; but in 1808 the coming of the English ship *Phaeton* created a need for knowledge of English. The flouting of the isolation policy by the ship's arrival at Nagasaki was too much for the chief official there, who committed suicide afterwards; and in the following year the Tokugawa Government ordered the interpreters at Nagasaki to study English as well as Dutch, lest trouble should come of future misunderstandings. This was the original motive for English study in Japan. An English-conversation book [1] and an English-Japanese dictionary, both in manuscript, were soon compiled, but they were kept secret from the general public.

In such circumstances the introduction of Shakespeare into Japan to any noteworthy extent was hardly possible before the Meiji era; but nearly sixty years earlier there is an interesting though doubtful link between Shakespeare and Japan: some critics have pointed out resemblances to *Romeo and Juliet* in a play entitled *Kokoro no Nazo Toketa Iroito* (A Tangled Love-story with a Happy Ending), performed in Yedo in 1810. This play was the joint work of Katsu Hyōzō, later known as the "Great Namboku", and Sakurada Jisuke the younger; Katsu wrote the part that suggests Shakespeare. As in *Romeo and Juliet*, a drug

[1] The preface to this book which was made in 1811 says that some fifty years earlier a Nagasaki interpreter had copied out a book of Dutch-English conversation; but the study of English does not seem to have been continued.

causing apparent death is used to prevent an undesired marriage; but here it is administered to the heroine by an unrequited lover, to thwart her union with his rival. The heroine unwittingly swallows the drug, and falls into a deathlike swoon lasting twenty-four hours. This puts an end to the importunities of the intrusive wooer; but the unrequited lover frustrates his own hopes as well: the heroine chances to be revived, and rescued from her burial-place, by a man whom she has loved in secret, and it is this deliverer that she finally marries.

If there is really a connection here with Shakespeare, then, as Mr. Ihara and other critics think, the Dutch concession at Nagasaki is the most likely medium. The theory, however, is not supported by any historical record or by tradition; and instances of revival of the buried are not far to seek in Oriental stories such as those in the *Liao-chai Chih-i*, a Chinese collection of uncanny tales, much read in Japan since before the days of the "Great Namboku". The writers of the play do not seem even to have heard of the name Shakespeare.

Shakespeare's name first appeared in Japanese, according to Mr. S. Takemura, author of an early history of English-study in Japan, in Shibukawa Rokuzō's translation of the Dutch version of Lindley Murray's *English Grammar*; the section on Syntax, in which Shakespeare is mentioned (i, 8), was translated in 1841. The name is transliterated into *katakana* to represent the pronunciation (*Sha-ke-su-pi-ru*). The Dutch version mentions Shakespeare, along with Milton, Pope, Addison, and Sterne, as illustrating the aptitude of the English language for expressing imagination and feeling; and in a few words it indicates the typical quality of each author. The translator, however, mistakes these summaries for the titles of works, and Shakespeare's "vindingrijke geest" (inventive mind) is represented as the name of something he wrote.

Shakespeare's name next appears in the Japanese reprint (1853) of Ch'ên Fêng-hêng's short Chinese history of England, where it is followed by the names of Milton, Spenser, and Tillotson. In the Japanese reprint (1861) of the Rev.

William Muirhead's Chinese version of Thomas Milner's history of England, Shakespeare's name occurs in a passage (at the end of Part V) in which special attention is drawn to the richness of literary production in Elizabeth's reign: Sidney, Spenser, Raleigh, Bacon, and Hooker are also mentioned. The poet's name might be expected to find a place in the *Seiyō-jijō* (Western Life) series, which began to appear in 1866, two years before the Meiji era, and had an enormous sale. The author, Fukuzawa Yukichi, was one of the greatest educationalists Japan has produced; but his interest lay chiefly in the material and scientific side of Western civilisation, and neither in the section on literature nor in that on English history does he mention a single English poet.

Almost coincidently with the beginning of the Meiji era something more than the mere name of Shakespeare was introduced into Japan through a Japanese translation of an English book. Nakamura Masanao, a scholar deeply versed in the Chinese classics, had gone to England in quest of new knowledge; and on leaving London, in the first year of Meiji (1868), he was given a copy of Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help*, which he thought worth translating for the benefit of his fellow countrymen. The translation was published in 1871: it had a large circulation, and introduced many names and some biographical sketches of English men of letters to the Japanese public. Shakespeare is mentioned, with the intimation that there is little to be learnt about him except through his works, and part of Polonius's advice to Laertes is given. Once rendered into Japanese, this passage soon found its way into an anthology of Western sayings, *Taisei Meigen* (1874); but there it was given in Chinese form. Freedom from error cannot be expected in such early translators; but the Japanese style of the learned Nakamura was both lucid and refined, and set a commendable standard.

A contrast with this conscientious effort appeared in 1874, when *The Japan Punch* published Charles Wirgman's version of part of Hamlet's soliloquy, "To be, or not to be". Wirgman, who had been sent to Japan by the London News Agency, and lived in Yokohama, was something of a painter,

and gave several eminent Japanese artists a knowledge of Western methods. His translation of Hamlet's lines is accompanied by a cartoon of a samurai carrying a sword and standing lost in thought. This is meant to represent Hamlet, for above it we read: "Extract from the new Japanese drama Hamuretsu san, 'Danmarku no Kami', demonstrating the plagiarisms of English sixteenth-century literature." The translation itself begins: "Arimasu, arimasen, are wa nan desu ka," literally: "There is, there is not: what is that?"; and the whole thing is a strange piece of jargon. This seems, however, to have been intentionally absurd; for about this time various "versions" of well-known poems and Shakespearian passages were current in England and passed for amusing, *e.g.*, a negro version of the soliloquy, beginning "To be or not to was, dat am de interrogation".

A few years later the complete play of Hamlet seems to have attracted the notice of some Japanese writers: Kanagaki Robun, a popular author, is said to have adapted it, and Kawatake Mokuami made a rough outline of it for his own use. The original manuscript of this outline, which bore no date but was thought to belong to 1878 or thereabouts, was destroyed in the fire that followed the Great Earthquake of 1923; but luckily the contents had been published in full by Kawatake Shigetoshi in the Shakespeare Memorial Number (April 1916) of the *Waseda Journal of Literature* (*Waseda Bungaku*). Both Robun and Mokuami are supposed to have learnt the story of Hamlet from Fukuchi Ōchi, a leading journalist of that time, who often quoted Shakespeare in his articles. Mokuami was compared by Dr. Tsubouchi to Shakespeare himself in the three respects of profound knowledge of human nature, lack of erudition, and genius in the use of old material. He gave the Japanese stage no version of *Hamlet*, though he adapted Bulwer Lytton's *Money* for a Tōkyō theatre (1879); Fukuchi is said to have given him this plot too.[2]

[2] About this time an outline of *Hamlet* appeared, I am told, in an issue of the *Nippon-ichi Kibidango*, a kind of *Punch*, in the course of a description of the New York stage.

Adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, however, naturally began through the medium of Lamb's *Tales*. In 1877 an adaptation of the trial-scene in *The Merchant of Venice* was published in the *Minkan Zasshi* (Popular Magazine) issued every Sunday by the Keiō Gijuku, a school founded by the Fukuzawa Yukichi mentioned above. The anonymous adaptor is probably Hayashi Tō, thinks Mr. Yamaguchi Takemi, compiler of a *Shakespeare Bibliography for Japan*. The adaptation curtails and thoroughly Japanises Lamb: it is entitled "The Strange Affair of the Flesh of the Bosom", with the explanation that it is "an adaptation of the novel (*sic*) by Shakespeare of England". The scene is laid at Sakai, a seaport near Osaka, and the names of the characters are suitably altered: for example, Portia becomes Kiyoka (Odour of Purity), and Shylock Yokubari Gampachi (Stubborn Close-fist). This being the first story from Shakespeare to be printed in Japan, a retranslation into English may be of interest:—

> Once upon a time there lived at the port of Sakai a rich man named Matsugaé Setsunosuke. His father had served a feudal lord in the east of Japan, quickly winning esteem and high position by his merits; "but", he reflected, "there is a proverb, 'The wind blows hard against a tall tree', and slanderous tongues will be sure to turn my lord's good graces to hatred, with the result that my disgrace will live for ever after me. Better to follow the example of that warrior statesman in ancient China who went into retirement after having won distinction in his master's service, and spent the rest of his days in angling". So, renouncing his rank and wealth as if discarding a pair of worn-out shoes, he settled in the distant port of Sakai, and, devoting his energies to making a fortune, soon became as rich as Tao-chu, the Crœsus of China.
>
> Setsunosuke, the old retainer's son, had a chivalrous spirit: he loved to help the weak and oppose the tyrannous, to side with the good against the wicked; and he saved not a few people from a wretched end.
>
> Among these fortunate ones was Murono Umejirō of Sakai, an intimate friend of Setsunosuke's. Bereft of his father in early boyhood, he had become the pupil of Shirane Ga'unsai, an expert in military science, then leading a

secluded life at Sumiyoshi, near Sakai. By dint of assiduous study unrelaxed on frosty mornings or snowy evenings, Umejirō, not yet of age, had amassed such a fund of knowledge that his master set great hopes on his future. Now, Umejirō's mother had been seriously ill for some years. Her devoted son personally attended to her wants, and spared no expense to procure, even from abroad, any medicine that offered promise of curing her. But it was Heaven's will that in spite of his tender nursing she should die.

These long years of misfortune left Umejirō so deeply in debt that he was obliged to reveal his predicament to Setsunosuke, who consented to help him out of it. He had not sufficient money by him at the moment, but as he was expecting his ships to return soon from a voyage to the northern provinces, he went to Yokubari Gampachi, a man of great wealth, and asked for the loan of the large sum of three thousand *ryō* for the term of one month. Gampachi replied with assumed friendliness that he was sure the ships would arrive, but that Matsugaé must sign a bond in which the forfeit was a *kin* of flesh cut from the debtor's breast. Matsugaé thought the proposal inhuman, but as he knew it to be a waste of time to argue with this grasping wretch, he signed the bond, and gave the borrowed money to his friend to tide him over his difficulties.

Time sped more swiftly than an arrow, and the day of repayment came. No news, however, had been heard of the ships; but just as Matsugaé was despairing, word came that the ships would arrive without fail the following morning. Somewhat cheered by this report, Matsugaé at once went to call on Gampachi, whom he courteously entreated to allow a day's grace for repayment. Gampachi, secretly delighted to hear these words, replied with arrogant puffs at his pipe: "What? I trusted in your word, knowing your reputation here as a man of honour; yet now you default on your bond, and hang your head in my presence like a woman. The court will decide which of us has right on his side." He ridiculed his debtor saying that probably he was grudging a piece of flesh to be cut from his breast, and after going on in this strain he sued Matsugaé before the court of the Governor of Sakai, to carry out his design of seizing the whole of the young millionaire's property.

Now, Shirane Ga'unsai had long been famous for his civic wisdom as well as his military learning, and the Governor of Sakai himself held the scholar in such esteem as to consult his opinion on difficult matters. Among

Shirane's pupils was a girl named Kiyoka, daughter of wealthy parents living near Sumiyoshi, who was unusually clever and good-looking: and she had recently become betrothed to her fellow pupil Umejiro. Alarmed at the painful situation of her future husband, she hastened to her teacher at Sumiyoshi and, telling him the whole story, asked for his advice. Ga'unsai, after some thought, clapped his hands and exclaimed: "I have it! There is a way to save him", and whispered in her ear. Kiyoka obediently put on a judge's gown and cap, and they waited, eagerly watching the progress of the sun.

In due course the Governor of Sakai, unable to decide the case, sent in haste for the old scholar; but Ga'unsai pleaded illness, saying, however, that he would send his pupil Kiyoka, who, though young, was exceedingly clever and well versed in matters of law, and whom his Excellency might consult as he would Ga'unsai himself.

The messenger, returning to Sakai with Kiyoka, reported the scholar's answer; and the Governor, quite satisfied, entrusted the conduct of the whole case to Kiyoka. After formally questioning the plaintiff, Yokubari Gampachi, he summoned Matsugaé Setsunosuke, the defendant, to appear, with Murono Umejirō and others; and retiring to an inner room, he listened to see how the young pupil would proceed with the case.

When Kiyoka appeared in Court, disguised as a man in lawyer's apparel, and calmly took her seat in the Judge's place, all present prostrated themselves in respect. Umejirō himself had no suspicion of the impersonation, so perfectly did Kiyoka appear to be a man of refined dignity. First, showing the bond to Setsunosuke, she asked whether he admitted its genuineness, which he did. She then asked, "Do you realise that your life is in danger?", to which the defendant replied with a deep sigh, "I do, my lord; but I have no one but myself to blame, so I will not utter vain regrets. I only beseech the Court to temper justice with mercy". Though the poor young man spoke in tones of resignation, his sadness could well be imagined. Kiyoka next addressed herself to Gampachi, admitting that though the contract was extraordinary, he had none the less the right to seek its enforcement in court of law; but bidding him forbear, if he had any mercy. The cruel rascal, bent on his evil designs, was inwardly provoked by these words; but not properly understanding this unexpected method of persuasion, he asked, anxiously looking up, what his lord-

ship really meant by such ambiguous words, unworthy of an impartial Judge.

Correctly holding her fan, Kiyoka then spoke movingly of the quality of mercy. "Mercy is a most valuable virtue. Once we are possessed of it, our future happiness will come unprayed-for. Buddha himself taught, 'Look at the world with eyes of mercy, and your blessings shall be as boundless as the ocean'. Hence he who has stored up ten thousand pieces of gold is not so blessed as he who performs a single act of mercy. Your suit is not unwarranted, but it is too cruel: I beg you, therefore, to show mercy and forbear a little." She added that it was only from solicitude for the plaintiff's future welfare that she made this appeal, but that if he desired strict justice she would decide the case on its legal merits. Everything depended on the plaintiff's true intentions.

Kiyoka spoke, like a veteran Judge, with so much feeling and reason that Setsunosuke and his friends listened to her with bated breath, and waited anxiously for the plaintiff's reply. The insolent Gampachi, however, who had turned a deaf ear to all this eloquence, cried angrily that he cared for nothing but the law of the State, according to which, he insisted, the Judge should pronounce judgment, ordering that the forfeit be paid without further delay. This merciless answer struck dismay into the heart of the poor young defendant. Kiyoka asked him whether he could not pay the money; Setsunosuke, somewhat more composedly, replied, holding up his head: "My lord, if my creditor would accept a sum of money instead of the forfeit, I would gladly offer two or three times as much as I borrowed from him." In tears, he earnestly implored the Judge to intercede for him and persuade Gampachi into accepting this offer, for his life now lay entirely in the hands of his creditor. Kiyoka gravely answered: "Young man, that cannot be. For no consideration may the law be perverted, or personal feeling sway a Judge's decisions. That would set a bad precedent." At this Gampachi slapped his thigh and exclaimed, "O upright Judge! even Fujitsuna of old cannot surpass you in integrity. I pray you, pronounce judgment quickly".

The patient Judge, however, still tried to reason with Gampachi, advising him to spare the defendant's life for a sum three times as large as the loan. When he remained deaf to her arguments, Kiyoka seemed for a while to be wondering how she could overcome his heartlessness; then, sitting stiffly upright, and fixing her eyes on him, she spoke

again. "Gampachi, you may lawfully claim your forfeit, and no one can prevent you from cutting a piece of flesh from the defendant's breast. But be merciful to one of your fellow creatures. Take the money, and let me burn the bond." This appeal, however, could not move the stony-hearted Gampachi, who bawled angrily: "What foolish talk is this, my lord? Would you break the law yourself—you, whose duty it is to enforce it towards others?" The insolent wretch even declared in his rage that if the Judge acted unlawfully he should be impeached for it. Setsuno-suke, who up to this moment had been looking to the Judge for help as one in Hell might to Buddha, now clearly saw that the Judge's generosity could do nothing further for him. With down-hung head and body bent forward he said sorrowfully: "My lord, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your clemency, though—alas!—your words could not soften the flinty heart of my creditor. As I now fully realise that there is no escape for me, I shall uncomplainingly accept whatever judgment you pronounce." It was piteous to see the poor young man thus resigning himself to his cruel fate.

Then Kiyoka, taking the bond with due formality in her hand, announced that judgment would be given, and asked Gampachi whether the scales were ready, to weigh the flesh. she added that Gampachi must have a surgeon by, lest Setsunosuke should bleed to death. Gampachi replied: "The scales are ready, but I have brought no surgeon; it is not so stated in the bond, nor do I care a straw whether he lives or dies." He had scarcely done speaking when Kiyoka, rising, thundered: "Hold your saucy tongue, you rascal! A *kin* of flesh is lawfully yours: it is so stated in the bond. But the bond, you must surely know, gives you no drop of blood. According to the law, whoever plots against the life of an innocent person shall forfeit his property, half to the State, and half to the person plotted against. If in cutting off the *kin* of flesh you shed a single drop of blood, or cut off more or less than one *kin*, you shall be put to death without mercy. Now, Gampachi, prepare at once to cut off your piece of flesh as you desire."

At these dread words Gampachi's arrogant manner suddenly gave way to ludicrous confusion. Trembling in every limb, and with a quaver in his voice, he timidly said he would be glad to take the money—indeed, he did not mind even if the money were not repaid, if only the Court would mercifully spare his life. Of course Gampachi's repeated

apologies had no effect on the Judge, who finally said: "Gampachi, you surely will not follow the example of the man whom you accused of breach of contract? I may do what I will within the limits of my judicial powers, but it is not for me to decide in matters of life and death. Wait a little, and the Governor himself will pass sentence on you." With these words Kiyoka rose and went into the inner room.

Setsunosuke drew a deep breath of relief, feeling that he had been snatched from the jaws of death, and prostrated himself in silent gratitude to the benevolent Judge as she retired.

A few minutes later the Governor appeared, to pass sentence. "Gampachi", he said in clear tones, "this is my judgment: I spare your life, in mercy, but your wealth is forfeit by the law." At this all present prostrated themselves before the Governor, and then left the Court.

This story shows the swift turning of the wheel of Heaven's retribution, and how woe will come to him who, out of cupidity, causes suffering to others, whereas he who bears affliction for his friend will be rewarded with good fortune.[3]

Two years after this adaptation, in 1879, a student of the Government University of Tōkyō, Wadagaki Kenzō, wrote a brief version of the plot of *Lear*, in Chinese. He did it during the long vacation, at Hakone, a cool mountain-resort whither he had gone to escape an epidemic raging in Tōkyō. Many years later, on the occasion of a Shakespeare-tercentenary memorial lecture-meeting in Tōkyō, he explained why he undertook the task and why he chose Chinese as his medium: at the University William Houghton, an American scholar, used to read Shakespeare with his classes, and Nakamura Masanao, mentioned above, taught the *Tso Chuan*, a Chinese classic; young Wadagaki,[4] interested in both subjects, aspired to combine them, the result being the story of *Lear* in Chinese. It was not meant for publication, but part of it is printed in *The Rising Generation*

[3] This upholding of poetical justice naturally fell in with the taste of the generality of the reading public in those days.

[4] He afterwards became a professor at the College of Agriculture in the Imperial University of Tōkyō. His interest in English was lifelong, and his English translations of Japanese literature, both classical and popular, are still enjoyable.

(*Eigoseinen*: September, 1920), where the history of the version is explained by Musha Kinkichi, who was once an assistant of the translator. The complete manuscript is now in the Waseda Museum of Theatrical Art.

The year 1879 also saw a Japanese translation of a passage from a Shakespearian play: not the first real Shakespearian translation, but first metrical one. It appeared incidentally—almost accidentally: in 1879 the second volume of Nishi Amane's version of Joseph Haven's *Mental Philosophy* was published, and the Shakespearian quotation —*Henry IV* (*1*), I. iii. 31–39—in the original work was rendered into popular Japanese metre. The translator is thus, apparently unconsciously, a pioneer in metrical versions[5] of English poetry.

Various sources show that from this time onward Japanese interest in Shakespeare gradually increased. Yoshida Isoho's *Irohawake Seiyōjimmei Jiten*[6] (Western Biographical Dictionary in Alphabetical Order), published in Tōkyō in 1879, contains a brief life of Shakespeare. In the following year the *Taisei Meishi Kan* (Mirror of Famous Occidentals) appeared, announced as a joint translation by Inui Tatsuo and Nakahara Junzō. The preface shows that the chief source of this volume was a book called *Fifty Famous Men*, published in London; the Japanese work, however, was meant to include many more lives. There were to be twelve sections, of which the 1880 volume contained four: the remainder seem never to have been issued. The published part contains the Poetry section, and gives lives of Homer, Dante, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton: the largest space, twenty-seven pages, is devoted to Shakespeare, Milton being a close second. Of the pages assigned to Shakespeare, "whose fame far exceeds that of other poets, and whose wisdom illuminates the world", the greater part is occupied by the history of English drama,

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[5] A few instances of metrical translations of Dutch poetry into Japanese, many years before this, can be traced.

[6] A revised edition was issued in the following year, with the new title of *Seitetsu Shōden* (Short Lives of Western Sages).

from Miracle Plays, Mysteries, Moralities, and Interludes, through *Ralph Roister Doister* and *Gorboduc*, to the Elizabethan stage. A plan of the Globe Theatre is given, and the custom of having boy actors is mentioned. There is not a word, however, about Shakespeare's works—not so much as the title of a single play.

In 1880 the *Isekojiki Nichiyōsōshi*, a Sunday paper, published a dozen lines describing the plot of *Romeo and Juliet*.

II. "A Book of New Poems", and Some Early Foreign Professors of English Literature.

In the history of Japanese poetry in the Meiji era the year 1882 is memorable for the publication of the *Shintai Shishō* (A Book of New Poems), the joint work of three university professors, which is closely connected with the spread of Shakespeare-study in Japan. In March, 1882, Inoué Tetsujirō, now a vigorous octogenarian, was appointed assistant professor of historical science and the history of Oriental philosophy in the Department of Letters of the Government University in Tōkyō. At that time the department had its own Institute of Research, where Inoué was compiling a history of Oriental thought. One day Yatabe Ryōkichi, Professor of Botany, called at the Institute and showed the young Orientalist his attempt at translating the "To be or not to be" soliloquy. Inoué found it interesting, and had it published in the March number of the *Tōyō Gakugei Zasshi* (Oriental Journal of Science and Art). On the occasion of the meeting at the Institute Toyama Masakazu,[1] Dean of the Faculty of Letters, happened to be present, and on the following day he brought Inoué his own rendering of the soliloquy. He seems, indeed, to have attempted a complete translation of *Hamlet* about this time; in the Library of the Imperial University of Tōkyō there are four manuscript fragments of a prose version, bearing signs of repeated revision. These manuscripts bear no dates, but comparison of the soliloquy versions they contain with the version shown to Inoué, which was later included in *A Book of New Poems*, leads me to think that the latter version, a metrical one, is the outcome of the manuscript experiments.

[1] A more popular vocalisation of the Chinese characters for "Masakazu" is "Shōichi", a reading that Professor Toyama himself often used.

After this the two senior professors, who had studied abroad, brought Inoué many translations of Western poetry, as well as a few original poems, all written as amateurs' experiments. For some time Inoué had deeply felt the need for a new style of poetry for New Japan; but his scholarly conscience made him realise the necessity for preliminary research. Now, studying these experiments of his friends, he thought them worth giving to the public; with the result that *A Book of New Poems* was published in August, 1882. The work was announced as the joint production of the three professors, each of whom used his pseudonym and contributed a preface. Inoué also wrote a general introduction on behalf of all three collaborators.

At that period Japan was zealously absorbing Western civilisation in order to enrich the national life, and this book was an embodiment of the new spirit. Professor Yatabe's pseudonym "Shōkon", meaning "I adore the present age", is typical of the time, and all three prefaces display a similar enthusiasm. Professor Inoué [2] relates how he came to feel the need of a "new poetry" for Japan: he once warmly supported the opinion of Kaibara Yekiken, a great scholar and physician of the Tokugawa period, that the proper medium of poetic expression for the Japanese is the *waka*, *i.e.*, the *tanka* of thirty-one syllables, and not the Chinese poetry then in vogue among scholars; but after studying Western poetry at the university he got new suggestions from its form and use of language. It is true that short Western poems bear some resemblance to *tanka*; but the West has also many poems on a large scale, unmatched in Japan. Moreover, in Western poetry the language advances with the period,[3] so that poetry can

[2] Professor Inoué's preface, unlike the two others, is in Chinese. This may seem out of keeping with the "modern" spirit of the book; but we must remember that the writer was an Orientalist, and that in those days the fashion of writing in Chinese was still prevalent among Japanese scholars. This combination of old and new is typical of a transition period.

[3] Professor Inoué seems to have got this impression largely from contrasting Western poetry with the *tanka*, the diction of

fittingly express even the subtlest ideas of the age. This drove the young scholar to ask himself, Why not invent a new form of poetry for Japan?

Bearing in mind all the circumstances that had led to the publication of *New Poems*, we shall not be surprised to find that except for a few original poems the book consisted of translations of Western poetry. The intrinsic value of these versions cannot be rated very high—they were the results of leisure and experiment—and the few original poems lie outside our scope. The translations may be conveniently grouped according to the translators:—

1. By Inoué Sonken-koji:
   Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*.
2. By Toyama Chūzan-senshi:
   Bloomfield's *Soldier's Home*.
   Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade*.
   Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*.
   Kingsley's *Three Fishers* (reprinted from the *Tōyō Gakugei Zasshi*).
   Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, III, ii, 350–372 (Wolsey's speech).
   ,, *Henry IV* (2), III, i, 4–31; with an original poem of Toyama's as prelude.
   ,, *Hamlet*, III, i, 56–90 ("To be, or not to be").
3. By Yatabe Shōkon-koji:
   Campbell's *Ye Mariners* (reprinted from the *Tōyō Gakugei Zasshi*).
   Gray's *Elegy*.
   Tennyson's *Revenge*.
   Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (*ut supra*: reprinted from the *Tōyō Gakugei Zasshi*).
   Longfellow's *Children*.
   d'Orléans's *Sur le Printemps*.

The popular verse form of alternate seven and five syllables was used for translations and original poems alike. End-rhymes were attempted in two poems, one translated and the other original: their conscious introduction into

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which had, at that time, to be archaic; he was perhaps thinking, too, of the diction of Chinese poetry then fashionable in Japan.

Japanese poetry was a striking innovation, though alliteration is common in old Japanese poetry. The use of rhyme may have been suggested by Chinese poetry as well as by Western verse; certainly the use of identical endings in one of these poems shows little knowledge of Western rules; in the other what may be called feminine endings are used throughout with more dexterity.

Metre and rhyme, however, were by no means the essential innovations of the "new poems". Regular syllabic patterns, indeed, were quite in the old tradition of Japanese poetry. (A little more than ten years later Professor Toyama became a strong advocate of Japanese free verse, specimens of which he himself wrote and recited. In the translations of whole plays of Shakespeare's that were soon to appear, no instance is found of the Japanese style of measured syllables.) Rhyme, apparently unsuited to the genius of the Japanese language, soon died out.

Wherein, then, lay the true significance of the "new poems"? Partly in the important change of writing poems much longer than the thirty-one-syllabled *tanka* of tradition (not that Japan had had no long poems in the past; but they had never been the predominant form of its poetry). The essential principle of the new poetics lay, as Toyama saw, in writing long poems, not in old-fashioned "poetic" diction but in plain and easy speech. But Toyama's own grasp of the new principle was not perfect, for he says in his preface that provided the poem is readily intelligible he has no scruples about using words both old and new, elegant and vulgar, or about combining Japanese, Chinese, and Western elements. His adherence to this licence gave his poems a crudity absent from those of his colleagues in innovation, who still leant towards the old diction. Though their practice lagged behind their principles, the pioneers felt the advisability of two reforms: (1) the adoption of extended poetic forms suited to conveying sustained thought and the finest shades of feeling, and (2) the use of present-day language in present-day poems.

The general verdict of critics is that the masterpiece of

the book is the version of Gray's *Elegy*—which happened to be one of the "new" poems most akin to the old in style! But the whole work, because of its novelty and the standing of its authors, attracted wide attention: in two years' time a second edition came out, and for years afterwards the book was drawn on by anthologists.

Something should be said about the early teaching of English literature in Japan, which has a bearing on Shakespearian studies. In the early years of the Meiji era this work was naturally in the hands of English and American scholars, to whose instruction and stimulus were largely due the new poetics and the growing appreciation of Shakespeare and other English authors.

The first foreigner to teach English in the Government institution that later developed into the Imperial University of Tōkyō was an American, Edward Howard House, an ex-reporter, who counted Mark Twain among his friends and in England had made the acquaintance of Dickens, Thackeray, and Browning. Though the institution that he (and a few other foreigners) taught at was of the highest grade, the students were not yet ready for advanced work in new learning, and the English that House taught was of an elementary kind. His term of service was from 1871 to 1873; and nine years later he again taught in the University, for a short time.

His successor was James Summers, a fellow townsman of Dr. Johnson's, who had taught at an Anglo-Chinese school in Hongkong and been professor of Chinese at King's College, London. He came to Japan in 1873, and was appointed Professor of English Literature and Logic at the Government institution in Tōkyō, which was now better equipped. He taught there until 1876.

The Calendars for 1875 and 1876 include Summers's examination questions. There was as yet no special course in English literature, which, with the English language, was part of the "General Course". Here are some of the

questions set by Summers in 1875, in which year he laid the chief stress on Shakespeare:—

First Class: English Language and Literature.

Write out and paraphrase the first few lines of Wolsey's address:—"Farewell &c. . . . as I do."

Why is Shakespeare held in such high esteem? and why is Spenser less read than Shakespeare? Give the characteristics of these writers and those of Milton.

Write ten lines from Hamlet's address to his father's ghost, and paraphrase a few lines.

Explain the expressions:—

"I find thee apt."

"The whole ear of Denmark
Is by a forgéd process of my death
Rankly abused."

"The serpent that did sting thy father's life,
Now wears his crown."

"Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught."

"The glowworm shows the matin to be near,
And 'gins to pale his ineffectual fire."

"Remember thee!
Ay! thou poor ghost! while memory holds a seat
In this distracted globe."

"I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All saws of books."

Second Class: English Language and Literature.

Write out and mark the quantities and accents in the passage from Shakespeare beginning, "I could a tale unfold".

The questions set by Summers in the following year show that the main emphasis of his lectures had been laid on Milton, especially *L'Allegro*. Other questions show that Longfellow's *Psalm of Life* and Gray's *Elegy* had been read; and these two poems, together with the plays of Shakespeare read in the previous year, are closely connected with the *Book of New Poems*. Of the three collaborators in this work, young Inoué (then called Funakoshi) was at that time a student attending Summers's lectures, and the other two were on the staff. Summers's students also included Yamasaki Tamenori, Okakura Kakuzō, and Wadagaki Kenzō.

The work of Inoué and Wadagaki in spreading a right knowledge of the West has already been dealt with; Yamasaki died young, but carried his enthusiasm for *Paradise Lost* to the Dōshisha, a Christian college in Kyoto, where he taught and exerted a profound influence; and Okakura will be known by name to many foreigners as a friend of Fenollosa's and as the author of *The Book of Tea.*

After the expiry of his three years' term at the Tōkyō Kaisei Gakkō, Summers taught English for a time at a school in Osaka. Then, from 1880 to 1882, he taught English literature and drawing to the students taking the General Course at the Government College of Agriculture in Sapporo, Hokkaidō. The poems he read with his classes there included Gray's *Elegy*, Macaulay's Lays, and *The Deserted Village.* Among his first students were Ōta Inazō (later Dr. Nitobe), Uchimura Kanzō, and Sakuma Shinkyō.[4] Junior to them came Shiga Jūkō, Takenobu Yoshitarō, and Zumoto Gentei, to all three of whom English became a lifelong enthusiasm. I am told that when Takenobu was at Sapporo he read several plays of Shakespeare's under Summers's guidance.

From Sapporo Summers returned to Tōkyō, where, with his daughter Catherine, he opened an English-school. Okakura Yoshisaburō [5] was one of Miss Summers's few

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[4] Sakuma distinguished himself as an able scholar of English. Uchimura became a Christian preacher, wrote many impressive books, was master of an admirable English style, and left a memorable testament of his faith, *Why I Became a Christian.* Dr. Nitobe's memory will still be fresh in many minds. He once said that though, during his four years at Sapporo, he specialised in agriculture, English literature proved to be the most useful of all his subjects in after years, and he was deeply grateful for the beneficial influence that the lofty thought of this literature exerted on his mind.

[5] Brother of the Okakura Kakuzō mentioned above and later one of Basil Hall Chamberlain's students in Tōkyō. For many years he taught English at the Higher Normal College in Tōkyō, and went abroad several times to study and lecture. Until his death (1937) he was the most popular teacher of English in Japanese wireless programmes.

pupils. In 1890 Summers returned to England, but he soon came back to Japan, where he died in 1891. The details of his career, and the impression he made on his pupils, point to a slightly eccentric habit, but he is spoken of as a man of imposing character, and full of fire as a teacher.

When Summers left the Tōkyō Kaisei Gakkō in 1876, he seems to have been succeeded by an American named H. N. Allin, who had acted as his assistant; but as Allin soon returned home, Summers's virtual successor at the Government Institution was William A. Houghton, a Yale graduate (1852—1917). Houghton arrived in Japan in 1877, and was immediately invited to teach at the Kaisei Gakkō. When, a very short time after, this Institution became the Tōkyō University, Houghton was appointed full Professor of English Literature in the Department of Letters, occupying this position for five years, until in 1882 he went to Germany for further study at the University of Berlin. On his return to America he was for several years on the staff of New York, and later Bowdoin, University. He died in America.

Houghton was of a more scholarly type than Summers, and his teaching is said to have been more methodical. Summers had set the appreciation of English literature in the right direction; Houghton deepened that appreciation and widened its range. The text-books he used in his classes included G. Craik's *The English of Shakespeare illustrated in a Philological Commentary on his "Julius Cæsar"*, and *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Richard II*. The text of *The Merchant of Venice*, like that of *Julius Cæsar*, had notes by W. Craik; the texts of the other plays were in the annotated editions of Clark and Wright.

In 1880, after Houghton had been lecturing in the Department of Letters for three years, its first group of graduates went down. They included T. Inoué, K. Okakura, and K. Wadagaki, already mentioned. Among later graduates were Tsubouchi Yūzō, Takata Sanaé, and Ichijima Kenkichi. Due space will be devoted to Tsubouchi's Shakespearian

labours in subsequent chapters. Takata became President of the Waseda University and is now a member of the Upper House. He has related how, to help to support himself during his student days, he taught at a night school, where he read Shakespeare with his class—passing on the knowledge he had very recently obtained in Houghton's lectures. Thus he became, unknowingly, the first Japanese to teach Shakespeare; a few years ahead of Professor Toyama, who read *Julius Cæsar* and *Hamlet* with his classes at the Tōkyō University in 1882–3. Takata afterwards taught Shakespeare at the Tōkyō Semmon Gakkō, now Waseda University, before Y. Tsubouchi began to teach English literature there.

Houghton's services to the young University of Japan may be judged partly from an entry in the University record of its foreign staff:—

"Although his tenure of office was only a little more than five years, under his able guidance students made a great progress. Before he came, there had been in the University very few books of English literature and the study of the subject much inconvenienced. But since Houghton came into office, besides lecturing, he spent no small amount of energy for procuring necessary books; and it will not be too much to say that for our present possession of the adequate size of library on the subject and the consequent encouraging condition of its study in the College of Letters, we are greatly indebted to him, and due amount of appreciation must be vouchsafed to the merits of his zeal."

Okakura Kakuzō was a student of Houghton's as well as of Summers's, and said himself that it was Houghton, even more than his own friend Fenollosa, that first opened his eyes to the right appreciation of art. Dr. Tsubouchi declared that Houghton guided him to the true understanding of characterisation in the drama and the novel; and Houghton's influence on the production of *A Book of New Poems* must not be overlooked. In a word, it was through him that the foundation was laid for the study in Japan of English literature in general and Shakespeare *par excellence*.[6]

[6] For biographical details about Summers and Houghton I

Houghton's name is associated with that of W. D. Cox, an Englishman, whose *Glimpses of English Literature for Japanese Students*, Part I (Shakespeare and the English Drama) came out in 1883. The book consists largely of extracts from sixteen plays of Shakespeare's. Cox was then teaching English in the Tōkyō University, as well as at the Imperial College of Agriculture in the suburbs of Tōkyō; and this and other books of his seem to have been compiled as text-books for his pupils.

I should like to conclude this chapter with a brief mention of just three other foreign professors whose memories are precious to many Japanese scholars of English literature at the present day. The first is Lafcadio Hearn; who was succeeded at the Imperial University of Tōkyō, after resigning his professorship there, by Dr. John Lawrence. Hearn was a literary genius whose aim was to teach appreciation; Lawrence was a linguistic prodigy insistent on accurate research. They approached Shakespeare, therefore, from different sides, and each in his own way left a lasting influence on Shakespearian studies in Japan. Professor Clarke, who taught for many years at Kyoto, until his death a few years ago, seemed to combine considerable aptitudes for both language and literature.

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am indebted to Mr. Shigehisa Tokutarō's contribution to *Eibungaku Kenkyū* (Studies in English Literature), Vol. XV, No. 2 (April, 1935). *A Book of New Poems*, its background and influence, are discussed by the present writer in the same periodical, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (Jan., 1934).

III. Direct Translation of Shakespeare: I.

The introduction of Shakespeare's works to the Japanese public entered on a new phase when a complete translation of *Julius Cæsar* was published in 1883. Kawashima Keizō, the author of this and several other versions of Shakespeare's plays, had not been to a university and was only a literary amateur; his name, however, deserves to be remembered with those of Tsubouchi, Tozawa, and Asano, whose scholarly translations were to follow. The way in which he acquired his knowledge of English and came to translate Shakespeare throws light on the educational and social background of the time.[1] He was born at Wakayama, near Osaka, in 1859, which was also the year of Dr. Tsubouchi's birth. At the age of ten he began to attend school in his native town; among the chief subjects taught there were the Chinese classics,[2] French, and English, the last of which soon became his principal study, under a Japanese teacher. He continued to study English at Kobe and elsewhere, spending two years at the Rev. Channing M. Williams's school in Osaka and the following five at the Rikkyō College in Tōkyō, of which the Osaka school was an offshoot. In 1879, at the age of twenty, he returned home; in 1882 he was teaching English at his old school in Osaka. In the school library he came across a complete edition of Shakespeare, and resolved to read it. He tells us that his choice fell first on *Julius Cæsar*. There was a topical reason: in the previous year an Imperial Edict had been issued for

[1] Kawashima's life is fully dealt with in Mr. S. Takemura's *History of English-studies in Japan* (written in Japanese), from which the details given here have been taken.

[2] In the early stages of teaching the Chinese classics, at this time, the method was simply to make the children pronounce the sentences in Japanese fashion, without explaining the meaning.

the inauguration of a Diet in nine years' time; political parties were being organised; and in 1882 Itagaki Taisuke, the Liberal leader, was seriously wounded by an assassin. This had made the names of Cæsar and Brutus household words among the "intellectuals".

Kawashima had no commentaries to aid him in his reading, and the only person he could turn to for help in cracking nuts too hard for his own teeth was the Rev. Mr. Tyng, the principal of the school. Nevertheless the young enthusiast persisted in his reading, and was encouraged by one of his journalist friends, T. Kusama, to translate the play into Japanese. Kawashima carried out this task within a few weeks in 1883, and his version was published in instalments by a political paper. In the circumstances it is idle to expect a translation satisfactory to present-day critics; but Kawashima must be given credit for being at pains to invent a new style suited to rendering a foreign play very different in form from Japanese drama. He largely departs from the colloquial and to him undignified style of the Japanese ballad drama, and, adopting a more literary style, partly uses the still older diction of the *nō*; but the work was clearly meant to be read rather than performed.

In 1886 this translation was published in Osaka in book form, under the new title of *A Mirror of Roman Vicissitudes*: it appeared this time as the joint work of Kawashima and his friend Kusama, both pseudonymous; but Kusama's share in the work was only nominal, though he wrote the preface. In it he refers to Johnson's admiration of the profound knowledge Shakespeare shows of human nature; this piece of information, however, was probably supplied by Kawashima.

In 1883, the year of this translation, Kawashima returned to his birth-place; and, retiring after a while to a secluded village on the river Ki, some twenty-five miles outside Wakayama, devoted his leisure to reading and translating other plays of Shakespeare's. We have his word for it that he read twenty-two plays, several of which he translated;

and he often took the opportunity of telling audiences of young people the stories of such plays as *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Timon of Athens*. At this time the only dictionary he had was Webster's. He wished to consult French translations of Shakespeare, but, unable to get access to them, made shift with the German versions of Schlegel and Tieck, to the best of his acquaintance with the language.

Kawashima lived this studious country life from 1883 to 1886. The manuscripts of the following translations (the first five of which are complete) made during this period are in the possession of Mr. Takemura: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Tempest*, *King John*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Coriolanus*, and *King Lear*; another copy of Kawashima's version of *King John* is in the Museum of Dramatic Art at Waseda. *Romeo and Juliet* was published (with several clumsy illustrations) soon after *Julius Cæsar*, and ran into a second edition.

Romeo and Juliet was first published at Kawashima's native Wakayama, in 1886. By this time Tsubouchi's version of *Julius Cæsar* had appeared (Tōkyō, 1884), and in 1885 an adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*, by another hand, had been not only printed but also performed. In the preface to *Romeo and Juliet* Kawashima says he has learnt from Dr. Tsubouchi how to introduce each scene smoothly with a few (interpolated) words of explanation leading up to the dialogue, as in Japanese ballad drama.[3] Kawashima also prefixed to each scene a brief account of what was going to happen in it, as he had already done in his *Julius Cæsar*.

In 1887 the second edition of *Romeo and Juliet* appeared, with greatly improved, lithographed illustrations. Of Kawashima's remaining translations some, Mr. Takemura

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[3] By this is meant the *jōruri*, a kind of drama intended for recital, in which the situations, actions, and private thoughts of the characters are described in fairly regular metrical language, and the dialogue is in realistic prose—a form of Japanese literature brought to perfection by Chikamatsu and still in vogue.

says, are straightforward versions without additions; others contain varying amounts of explanatory matter inserted by the translator; and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which is of the latter group, is all ready for publication, with a four-page preface giving the sources of the play, the dates of composition and printing, and the critical comments of various authorities.

In 1887 Kawashima was invited to teach at the Queen Victoria Public School in Yokohama. Most of his pupils were children of foreign residents; among them was Edward Clarke, later Professor of English Literature in the Imperial University of Kyoto. During his three years at Yokohama Kawashima organised a private night-school, one of the boys he taught there being Katsumata Senkichirō, now a well-known English-scholar. After leaving Yokohama Kawashima lectured for two years at his *alma mater*, Rikkyō, where he read with his classes such plays as *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *The Merchant of Venice*. It was about this time that his translations of some of Lamb's *Tales* appeared in print. In 1902 the Meishōdō, a Tōkyō publishing house, began to issue a shortlived series of English texts with translations and notes; the first volume, edited by Kawashima and entitled *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*, after one of the stories in it, included Lamb's *Hamlet*; and the third volume, also edited by Kawashima, which came out in the same year, took its title, *Three Daughters*, from one of its contents, Lamb's *Lear*, and also included *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In the following year these two books were republished as one.

After this the tide of fortune seems to have turned against Kawashima and continued adverse until his death. He passed away quietly in Osaka in the spring of 1935, not long after Dr. Tsubouchi; the years of both birth and death of these two Shakespeare-lovers coincided, though their paths seldom crossed. One meeting is recorded by Mr. Takemura: it was when Kawashima was teaching at Rikkyō. He wanted Dr. Tsubouchi to be his mentor in Shakespearian matters, but the Doctor replied that one who had translated

Hamlet did not need his guidance. He asked Kawashima whether he thought he had made *Hamlet* easily intelligible to the common reader; Kawashima said he feared his translation could be understood by nobody but himself. This reply, however, is nothing but an example of self-depreciating humility. It is true that Kawashima's versions are not free from mistranslations, and the style is rather stiff; but for these defects the age is more responsible than the writer, and on the whole the language is good Japanese. Kawashima deserves praise and gratitude for his pioneer labours at a task that was consummated by Dr. Tsubouchi.

Tsubouchi Yūzō was born in 1859 at Ōta, a village in the province of Mino, not very far from Nagoya. When he was ten, his parents moved to a house in the suburbs of that city, and there the boy was taught to read the Chinese classics, privately indulging a taste for popular novels. When, in the following year, 1870, the Nakamura Playhouse in Nagoya was reopened, he was often taken there by his mother, a keen theatre-goer. During the years just after 1872 he attended a succession of schools in Nagoya, at which English was taught. In 1874 he is said to have listened in class to readings of *Hamlet* and other Shakespearian plays by an American named Latham. Tsubouchi was then fifteen: it was an early introduction to the great English dramatist, to the study of whom he devoted most of his long life.

In 1876 the local authorities sent the promising youth to pursue his studies at the Tōkyō Kaisei Gakkō, soon to become the Tōkyō University. Though he specialised there in politics and economics, English literature was a required subject, and, as already mentioned, he attended the lectures of Professor Houghton, who laid special stress on Shakespeare. Tsubouchi's private reading consisted largely of Lytton, Scott, and Dickens, and as early as 1879 he made a free translation of part of *The Bride of Lammermoor*. This version was published in the following year under the name of Tachibana Kenzō, Tsubouchi being as yet unknown to the public. In 1881 Tsubouchi and Takata Sanaé col-

laborated in a prose version of *The Lady of the Lake*, which was published in 1884 under the signature of Hattori Seiichi. Tsubouchi had gone down from the Tōkyō University in the previous year, and his graduation thesis, "On the Style of the Novel", appeared pseudonymously in the *Journal of the Meiji Society*; it was incorporated in the second volume of his book, *The Spirit of the Novel*,[4] which came out in 1886. The book had begun to be published in parts in the previous year, in which his translation of Lytton's *Rienzi* also appeared. The principles laid down were nothing more than the common creed of realism, but the book marks a turning-point in Japanese fiction by repudiating the old view of the novel as mere light distraction, and by insisting that it should satisfy the standards of art. Although his own first attempt at novel-writing, made about this time, cannot be said to approach realisation of his ideals, the principles propounded in his theoretical work had no little influence on subsequent novelists in Japan. He made several other attempts to put his precepts into practice, in the years immediately following his maiden effort: some of his novels show the influence of Hasegawa Futabatei, who was then popularising in Japan, by translation and creative work, the realistic tendency of the Russian novel of that time. Before long, however, Tsubouchi gave up writing novels, as his interest in original authorship had become concentrated on historical drama; and it was in this field that his best creative work was written. Before entering on this stage of his life, however, we must see how, in the meantime, Shakespeare's plays were being increasingly introduced to the Japanese public.

Tsubouchi's translation of *Julius Cæsar* had been finished in 1883 and published in the following year. It was his first

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[4] For the material of this book he was partly indebted to Bain's *Rhetoric*, Fenollosa's lectures on art (given about that time in Tōkyō), and various books that he had read in the University library as a student; but he worked out the whole plan himself, and his debt to these sources seems to have been very slight.

translation of a Shakespearian play, and at the time he had no thought of producing a complete series : it had been quite an isolated undertaking, suggested in part by the dominant interest of the time in politics, seen in the great vogue of political novels, translated and original; and it was an extremely free version, largely in the style of Japanese ballad drama, and intended not for the stage but for popular reading. (Since 1883, translations from Lamb's *Tales* had been appearing in great numbers; but these, with Shakespearian adaptations, will be discussed later.) In 1885 Tsubouchi's version of the first four scenes of *Hamlet*, Act I, appeared in a periodical called *Chūō Gakujutsu Zasshi*. In 1888 a very free version of *Coriolanus*, by Itakura Kōtarō, was published under the title of *Gōketsu Isse no Kagami* (The Mirror of a Hero's Life). Literature ran in the translator's family, but he was at this time only a student at the Keiō Gijuku, a college founded by the Fukuzawa already mentioned, and the task of translating the play had been delegated to him by a superior too busy to discharge the publisher's commission. The book appeared, however, under Itakura's name, with Ono mentioned as reviser; but the revision seems to have been nominal, for the liberties taken by the translator go unreproved, even his redivision of the play into seven acts. Itakura prefixes to his version a short life of Shakespeare and hints on how to read and understand the play. At the outset he declares his chief motive in translating the play to be the improvement of the Japanese stage—thus echoing, if not anticipating, Dr. Tsubouchi. This avowed purpose is supported in the special introduction written by Ichikawa Danshū, a noted actor of those days, who avers that as he turned the pages he felt as if the play were being performed before his eyes.

In 1888 a version of *The Comedy of Errors* appeared. The translator, Watanabe Osamu, was a conscientious student of Shakespeare and the possessor of a fine style. His preface shows that he had fully recognised the difficulty of his task : in the first place, between the genius of the Japanese and that of the English language there was such a difference that

though the plain meaning of the English sentences might be conveyed, their subtle implications and mysterious charm would almost certainly escape; and secondly, not only was Shakespeare's language three hundred years old, but also, in many places, scholars disagreed about the correct reading. The translator had done his best under these handicaps; and, though he had been obliged to reduce Shakespeare's verse to colloquial prose, had at least taken no liberties with the development of the plot or the divisions of the play, so that the original construction might plainly appear. His translation is as intelligent as his preface leads one to expect, and in view of its excellent colloquial style we may regard the work as an artistic triumph. The title, *Kyōka Suigetsu*, means literally "Flowers in a mirror, and the moon in the water". Watanabe tells us that it was suggested by a friend; it is a good equivalent of the original: flowers reflected in a mirror are often mistaken for real ones, and the moon in the water is often represented in Eastern art as the object of a monkey's vain grasp.

Watanabe says in his preface that this is not his only Shakespearian translation, but the others do not seem to have been published.

In the same year, 1888, Wada Mankichi's version of *All's Well that Ends Well* appeared in print; but as the version is in story form it will be discussed more suitably in the chapter on outline stories and adaptations of Shakespeare's plays.

IV. Direct Translation of Shakespeare: II.

By 1891, Shakespearian studies in Japan had reached the stage at which fairly full notes on portions of the plays began to appear. In October, 1891, the trial-scene from *The Merchant of Venice*, with translation and notes by Isobe Yaichirō (to whom fuller reference will be made later), appeared in the journal of English-studies he edited. About the same time Professor Tsubouchi's translation, with notes, of the first two acts of *Macbeth* [1] was printed in a literary periodical [2] recently founded by him for the College of Waseda, where in the previous year a department for the exclusive study of literature had been established. An impetus was thus given to Shakespearian studies. In 1890, also, Dr. Tsubouchi had begun his lectures on the dramatist, first given at his own house. More than seventeen years, however, intervened between Watanabe's *Comedy of Errors* (1888) and the next translation (not adaptation) of a complete play of Shakespeare's. During that time the chief interest of Tsubouchi himself had changed to the writing of historical dramas, though these at least showed Shakespearian influence. In 1894 his *Kirihitoha* was printed in the *Waseda Bungaku*,[2] *i.e.*, *Waseda Journal of Literature*. Two years later it was published in book form, with *Maki-no-Kata*, another of his historical plays, the first of a trilogy.

It is the almost unanimous verdict of the critics that *Kirihitoha* is the best Japanese drama written in the Meiji era. Reminiscences of *Hamlet* have been pointed out, and associations with other plays of Shakespeare's may be found. The end of Act V, scene iv, brings to mind both *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*: the scene is laid in the bed-chamber

[1] A revision of this, together with his translation of the first part of *Hamlet*, already mentioned, was included in the second volume of Dr. Tsubouchi's *Critical Studies in English Literature*, published in 1902.

[2] This periodical, *Waseda Bungaku*, was discontinued in 1898, but was revived in 1906 by Shimamura Hōgetsu, another Waseda professor, one of the pioneers of modern drama in Japan.

of Yodo-gimi, widowed consort of Toyotomi Hideyoshi; in the middle of a conversation she sees a ghost, retreats in alarm, talking wildly like a sleep-walker, and half unwittingly stabs an unprincipled parasite.

Of *Maki-no-Kata* the author himself said that vague associations with Lady Macbeth entered into its composition, and Shakespearian memories are faintly stirred by other plays of Tsubouchi's written at this time. What is more important, however, is the general influence of Shakespeare on Tsubouchi's plays, discernible both in their construction and in the treatment of their subjects. Like Shakespeare, Tsubouchi meant his plays to be acted; the two mentioned above were put on the stage somewhat later, and others were also thought good enough for performance.

In 1899 the degree of Doctor of Letters was conferred on the scholar dramatist. In the following year his *Studies in Chikamatsu*[3] appeared, and in the year after that his *History of English Literature*. This was a revised collection of his lectures, printed from time to time for his students at Waseda. Of more than nine hundred pages, only fourteen were allotted to Shakespeare, as compared with thirty-one for Spenser and twenty-one for Milton; but this was probably due to Tsubouchi's having a seminar class for the special study of Shakespeare, at his own house. In 1901, also, his old version of *Julius Cæsar*, adapted for the stage by Hatakeyama Gohei, was performed at the Meiji Za in Tōkyō; and later in the same year what seems to have been the same adaptation was performed at the Kado Za in Osaka.

In 1905 Dr. Tsubouchi organised a society for the study of the drama and theatrical art: this soon developed into the Bungei Kyōkai (Literary Association). His activities in the theatrical world will be dealt with more fully later.

In 1905, too, appeared the first book of a series intended to supply a complete translation of Shakespeare's works. This enterprise was undertaken by two competent scholars,

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[3] A society for the study of Chikamatsu was founded under his guidance.

Tozawa Masayasu[4] and Asano Wasaburō,[5] who had been fellow students from the time they entered a High School to the year of their going down from Tōkyō University, 1899. Their Shakespearian series opened with Mr. Tozawa's *Hamlet*. The Russo-Japanese War was on at the time, and in their general preface the two friends marvel at the serene atmosphere in which they have been able to pursue their peaceful labours. The result, they claim, will mark for later generations the high tide of the national spirit. To the intrinsic value of their work, however, they attach less importance: as the literature of the Elizabethan age rose to its climax in the second half, so the most flourishing period of Meiji literature might be expected in ten, twenty, or even thirty years' time; and it was for that day that they were working, to the best of their ability, by introducing foreign literature. The general preface was followed by a biographical sketch of Shakespeare, later included in Asano's *History of English Literature* (1907). From the translator's short preface we learn that it was Lafcadio Hearn who inspired the plan of translating Shakespeare into Japanese. During a lecture at the Tōkyō Imperial University, at which Tozawa was present, Hearn urged his hearers, "Translate Shakespeare into your daily speech". The translator is deeply aware of the difficulty of his task, which he compares to copying an oil-painting in the style of native Japanese art.

The introduction to this version of *Hamlet* begins with a brief explanation of *Hamlet* Quartos and the First Folio, and after discussing the sources of the play goes on to examine Hamlet's character. The text used for the translation was Dowden's edition in the Arden Shakespeare; to his notes, and those of other scholars, Tozawa acknowledges

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[4] After many years of service as a High School teacher Mr. Tozawa is now Principal of the Tōkyō School for Foreign Languages.

[5] W. Asano, whose death in February, 1937, was lamented in the leading papers, was noted for his many translations of English literature; for many years he taught English at a Naval College. His interest in spiritualism was also well known.

his indebtedness. By this time Dr. Tsubouchi's version of the first four scenes of *Hamlet*, Act I, had already been published: the translator highly esteemed it, and, as he himself admits, followed the Doctor's wording very closely in some places.

As many as ten plays had been translated by the two scholars when the series was discontinued. Choice of plays, they said, depended on their personal inclinations. The following list gives title, translator, and date of publication:—

Hamlet	Tozawa	1905
Romeo and Juliet ..	,, ...	,,
Merchant of Venice ..	Asano	1906
Othello	Tozawa	,,
Lear	,, ...	,,
Much Ado	,, ...	1907
Julius Caesar	,, ...	,,
As You Like It	Asano	1908
Comedy of Errors ..	Tozawa	,,
Twelfth Night	Asano	1909

A study-list, prepared by Asano, was appended to the biographical sketch that followed the general preface in Tozawa's *Hamlet*. Since it will give a good idea of the Shakespeare-literature known and appreciated in Japan at the time, it is reprinted here, with Asano's comments (translated):—

(1) Works.—As there are several hundred editions of Shakespeare's works, it is impossible to enumerate them here. The following editions are generally considered to be good:—

(*a*) *The Globe Edition*, edited by Clark and Wright, 1 vol. (Macmillan). Cheap and accurate; generally recognised as the standard edition.

(*b*) *The Temple Shakespeare*, edited by Gollancz, 40 vols. (Dent); a series of lovely booklets.

(*c*) *The Eversley Shakespeare*, edited by Herford, 10 vols. (Macmillan).

(*d*) *The Cambridge Shakespeare*, edited by Wright, 9 vols. (Macmillan).

(*e*) *The Henry Irving Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (Blackie). Exquisite illustrations and careful stage-directions.

(*f*) *The New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, edited by Furness (Lippincott & Kegan Paul). A large-scale edition, indispensable for Shakespearian scholars. It comprises twelve plays (titles given). Each vol. Y9.

(2) Criticism and Biography.—Books are very numerous and still rapidly multiplying; we must therefore choose carefully. The following two are considered the best works :—

(*a*) *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, by Hazlitt (Bohn's Library).

(*b*) *Lectures and Notes on the Plays of Shakespeare*, by Coleridge (Bohn's Library).

These two books must be read by every student of Shakespeare. The following are also considered to be excellent :—

(*c*) *Shakespeare, His Mind and Art*, by Dowden (Paul).

(*d*) *Introduction to Shakespeare*, by Dowden (Blackie).

(*e*) *Shakespeare, His Life, Art and Character*, by Hudson (Ginn).

(*f*) *Shakespeare's Heroines*, by Mrs. Jameson (Bohn's Library).

(*g*) *Life of Shakespeare*, by Sidney Lee (Smith).

(*h*) *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, by Moulton (Clarendon Press).

(*i*) *Study of Shakespeare*, by Swinburne (Chatto).

(3) Dictionary and Linguistic Study :—

(*a*) *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, by Schmidt, 2 vols. (Williams). Indispensable for Shakespearian scholars.

(*b*) *Shakespearian Grammer*, by Abbott, is the best book of its kind.

(4) Commentary.—Here again, the books are so numerous that right choice is often difficult.

(*a*) *Shakespeare's Plays*, edited by Deighton, 22 vols. (Macmillan). Full notes, making this edition very suitable for beginners.

(*b*) *Shakespeare's Plays*, edited by Hunter, 35 vols. (Longman).

(*c*) *The Pitt Press Shakespeare for Schools*, edited by Verity (Cambridge University Press).

(*d*) *Select Plays of Shakespeare*, edited by Clark and Write (Clarendon Press).

(*e*) *The School Edition of Shakespeare*, edited by Hudson, 23 vols. (Ginn).

Twelfth Night, the last of the ten translated plays, appeared in the November of 1909, and in the following

month Dr. Tsubouchi's version of *Hamlet* was published by the Waseda University Press as the first volume of his translations of select plays of Shakespeare's—a series later extended to include the Poet's complete works. In March, 1909, there had appeared a translation of *Othello*, with full notes, by Sugano Tokusuke; a work of such merit that when, in 1925, Professor Ichikawa published his own notes on the play, he expressed in his preface his warm appreciation of Sugano's scholarship, and regretted that death had robbed the world of other fruits of it; *Othello* was re-issued, several years ago, through the good offices of Sugano's old friend Sawamura Torajirō, Assistant Professor in the Imperial University of Tōkyō. In March, 1909, also, the second volume of Dr. Toyama Masakazu's work was posthumously published, including his experimental version of *Hamlet*, broken off at Act III, scene ii, l. 405. In 1910 Urase Hakuu's[6] translation of part of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was printed in the *Teikoku Bungaku*, a magazine closely associated with the College of Letters of Tōkyō Imperial University. This was the first published Japanese version of the play; Kawashima's translation, made more than twenty years before, was never printed.

Whereas, however, the versions mentioned above were isolated examples by different hands, Dr. Tsubouchi's *Hamlet* was quickly followed by his translations of other plays of Shakespeare's, until by 1923, the year of the Great Earthquake in Tōkyō and its neighbourhood, twenty had been published, completing the series of select plays he had originally intended.[7] But neither he nor the Waseda University Press was content to stop here: the plan of translating select plays was extended to include all the Poet's writings, and in the short space of 1926–28 the rest of Shakespeare's works, including his non-dramatic poetry, were given to the Japanese reading-public in Dr. Tsubouchi's translation. In

[6] Mr. Urase is now a lecturer on English literature at the Fukuoka High School.

[7] The titles of these translated plays, and of the others in the extended series, are given, with date of publication, in the bibliography at the end of this book.

December, 1928, the translator's *Introduction to the Study of Shakespeare* (written in Japanese) was published, a most useful and convenient companion to the complete series. In September, 1933, a revised edition of the whole series began to appear, and Dr. Tsubouchi had almost accomplished the laborious task of revision before his death. This took place rather suddenly, in the morning of February 28, 1935, at his Atami villa facing the sea and sheltered by high mountains at the back. He was nearly seventy-six.

The preface to the revised version of *Hamlet* gives a fair idea of Dr. Tsubouchi's general aim in making the revision: in writing the original versions he had intended to give a new turn to the dialogue of the old Japanese drama, but as thoroughly colloquial dialogue on the stage was out of the question in those days, he had kept rather to the old style, for which he had been criticised; in revising, however, he had sought to change archaism into modern colloquial Japanese, so that in some passages the style was completely transformed.

In writing some of the original versions Dr. Tsubouchi seems to have consulted Deighton's edition, in particular, for explanatory notes; but in revising *Hamlet* he took advantage of the available results of the most advanced Shakespearian studies accomplished since both abroad and in Japan; his preface says in the latter connection that not only have Dr. Ichikawa's and Mr. Tsuzuki's [8] notes been made use of for the revision, but also a copy of the old version of *Hamlet* with Dr. Saitō's manuscript notes was borrowed from him for consultation. In the revision of the other plays, too, it may be assumed that similar care was taken to consult the latest authorities, both native and foreign.

Dr. Tsubouchi's chief motive in translating Shakespeare's plays was to put them on the Japanese stage, and thus, at the same time, improve it. Hence his versions differed in aim from those of, say, Tozawa and Asano, whose point of

[8] Mr. Tsuzuki Tōsaku is one of the ablest English scholars the Aoyama Gakuin has produced. He is now Professor of English in the Preparatory Course of the Imperial University of Hokkaidō.

view was scholastic. Dr. Tsubouchi's intention is reflected not only in his style but also in the stage-directions, which are often far more elaborate than those in many English editions, to say nothing of the original plays. He translated Shakespeare avowedly for those who could not read him in English.

Though we shall have occasion to return to Dr. Tsubouchi in the chapter discussing Shakespeare's relation to the Japanese stage, it will be more convenient to trace here the development of his theory of translation. In the last chapter of his *Introduction to the Study of Shakespeare*, devoted to this subject, he describes five stages of development.

In his first version of *Julius Cæsar* (1884) the style was mainly that of the Japanese ballad-drama: this was the first stage. When, a dozen years later, he was publishing his lectures on literature in the *Waseda Journal*, his immediate aim was the instruction of his students, so that his rendering of Shakespeare (with notes) was as far as possible a word-for-word translation [9]; and though it was in prose, he was influenced by the contemporary revival of the Japanese classics, and unconsciously inclined in his translation to the elegant style. This was the second stage.

Next came the period when he was translating Shakespeare with a view to actual performance. In 1907 he translated part of *Hamlet* for experimental performance by the members of the Bungei Kyōkai, the literary association of which he was the leader. By this time he had become confirmed in his belief that a translation of any play should be judged in the light of its presentability in the theatre; but the influence of the old drama on him was still strong enough to cause an unconscious leaning towards the archaic style, and he could not free himself from the diction of the *nō* play. This was the third stage.

When Dr. Tsubouchi was making an experimental translation of *Macbeth*, in an elegant style, someone drew his attention to the words of Lafcadio Hearn, quoted earlier in

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[9] This version of *Hamlet* appeared in Nos. 6, 7, 9, 11 and 14 of the new series of the *Waseda Journal of Literature*, in 1896.

these pages in another connection, the purport of which was that for anyone wishing to translate Shakespeare the colloquial was the only adequate style. But Dr. Tsubouchi was not immediately induced to change his theory, and, though he was already modifying his style to some extent, did not abandon literary diction. This was a period of semi-literary, semi-colloquial style; and it was during this fourth stage that his versions of *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Othello* were written. His convictions at this time were based on the nature of Shakespeare's own language: he observed that the plays consisted of a subtle mixture of verse and prose, poetic and colloquial diction; and in order to effect in his translations a smooth blend of two different styles he chose for colloquial passages the usage of the past, and for literary passages drew from comparatively modern diction. But he himself was not satisfied with the result, and in his *Lear* (1912) increased the amount of colloquialism —not the colloquialism of the past, however, as during the fourth period, but a colloquialism that he tried to bring nearer contemporary usage. In translating *Julius Cæsar* in 1913 he increased still more the proportion of colloquialism; and when his version was performed, he realised the full truth of Hearn's words. This was the fifth stage, to the early days of which belong five versions: *The Merchant of Venice*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Macbeth*.

The fifth stage brought to completion, in 1923, the series of twenty select plays, and further experience strengthened Dr. Tsubouchi's convictions about the use of colloquialism. Some explanation is needed, however, of what he meant by colloquialism, for he took the term in a rather wide sense. He declared, and his practice shows, that by colloquialism he did not mean the contemporary language actually spoken by any particular class of people; he used words both old and new, elegant and vulgar, native and exotic, so long as they conformed to the grammar of colloquial Japanese in the ordinary sense of the term and could be understood by the average person by sound alone. A large vocabulary was indispensable for rendering Shakespeare's rich language,

and colloquialism in the special sense just defined could fully meet the need.

Dr. Tsubouchi came to this conclusion after long experience as a Shakespearian translator. He did not spare himself in his conscientious progress towards his ideal. Mr. Kawatake Shigetoshi, the present director of the Waseda Museum of Theatrical Art, and one of Dr. Tsubouchi's most prominent disciples, tells us in the April, 1935, number of the *Shaō Fukkō* (Shakespeare Revival [10]) that his master had no assistant in his labours as a translator, read his proofs himself, and even prepared with his own hand the clean copy of his drafts. He used to jot down tentative renderings on odd scraps of paper, revise them, and make a fair copy, in the course of writing which he continued his revision; he then went carefully over the fair copy and made various improvements before sending it to the printer. Further revising was done on the first proofs; the second proof also was touched up; and so the process went on, until, after several proofs—usually four, but sometimes six or more—had been carefully worked over, the final form was reached.

While Dr. Tsubouchi's complete translation of Shakespeare was in progress, versions of the plays by other hands were appearing. One of the most noteworthy was Mori Ōgai's translation of *Macbeth*. Dr. Mori was an army surgeon and one of the finest men of letters Japan has ever had. He was very well read in German literature, and published an excellent translation of Goethe's *Faust*; *Macbeth*, his only Shakespearian translation, is in the same, thoroughly modern colloquial style. Kume Masao, one of the leading novelists of present-day Japan, who was sent as a special correspondent to the Coronation of George VI, had published between January, 1915, and April, 1916, translations of three plays, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*. Osanai Kaoru, an enthusiastic innovator in the Japanese theatre, translated *Othello* (1925) and *The Merchant of Venice* (1926). Kume and Osanai, two of the "university

[10] This is the title of a series of pamphlets issued to accompany the revised edition of Dr. Tsubouchi's translation of Shakespeare.

wits " of modern Japan, made a special study of English literature during their student days at the Imperial University of Tōkyō.

Since the completion (1928) of Dr. Tsubouchi's first series, also many good renderings of Shakespearian plays have been published by other writers. The third volume of the Shinchōsha " World Literature " series, issued in 1929, consisted of versions of six plays—*Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Macbeth*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Romeo and Juliet*—by Yokoyama Yūsaku, at that time Professor of English Literature at Waseda. About five months later, in the same year, the third volume of a series issued by the " World Drama " Publishing Association came out, containing versions of seven plays, including *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*, by Osanai Kaoru, which had been first published, as we have seen, a few years earlier. The other plays, and their translators, were: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hamlet*, Satō Tokuji; *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Macbeth*, Izumi Takeshi; and *Romeo and Juliet*, Kitamura Kihachi. The repeated titles will help to show which of Shakespeare's plays have been most popular in Japan of recent years.

The version of *Julius Cæsar* by Mr. T. Sawamura, Assistant Professor in the Imperial University of Tōkyō, came out in a different form and had a different purpose. The translation, published in January, 1933, as the first of an intended series by the same hand, is printed opposite the English text, with linguistic notes in the margins; for, Mr. Sawamura says in his preface, the book is meant chiefly to promote a true appreciation of the original. It was followed by similar editions of several other plays, but a further remark on this series will be included more appropriately in the section of " Commentaries " in another chapter.

In April, 1933, Mr. Honda Kenshō's version of *Hamlet* appeared. The translator, one of the most genuine Shakespearian scholars in Japan, says in the preface that he carried out his task in twelve days; which gave him at least this advantage that in the heat of concentrated energy he cast petty discretion to the winds and produced a straight-

forward version free from trivial elaboration. In the same month he published a translation of *Romeo and Juliet*.

The following year witnessed a characteristic translation of *Hamlet* by Professor Uraguchi Bunji, a veteran Shakespearian and a friend of Professor Kittredge.

In May, 1938, a version of *Macbeth* by Mr. Nogami Toyoichirō was issued by the Iwanami publishing house as the first of a series of twelve select plays of the poet to be translated by eight Japanese scholars. Mr. Nogami, the leading authority on *nō* plays, is well read in literature both Japanese and foreign, and has the command of a perfect style. He has already translated many works of English literature, and his book on the theory and practice of translation is just out. It is an outgrowth of his long experience as a translator, of which his *Macbeth* is a most significant fruit; for it makes an epoch in the history of the translation of Shakespeare in Japan.[11]

Mention should be made here, in conclusion, of an early instance of translation of Shakespeare's non-dramatic poetry. In 1896 Shimazaki Tōson's version of *Venus and Adonis* was published in the February number of the *Bungaku Kai* (The Realm of Belles-Lettres). It was republished in 1899, forming part of the second volume of the Meika Bunko (Library of the Masters). Tōson, who has since become one of Japan's greatest novelists, was in those days writing poetry. His exquisite translation in poetic prose of Shakespeare's poem is entitled "Summer Grass".[12]

[11] Besides these translators there have been others in recent years who have produced versions of some plays. The reader is referred to the Bibliography at the end of this book.

[12] A story entitled "The Captive in the Cage" is included in *Natsukodachi* (A Summer Grove), a collection of Yamada Bimyō's writings published in 1888. In some Shakespearian bibliographies compiled in Japan this story is given as a translation of *The Rape of Lucrece*, but this is a mistake: it is true that the author of the book says in his preface that being emulous of Shakespeare's poem he wrote his "Captive in the Cage" in imitation; but plot and names of characters show Bimyō's story to be, rather, an adaptation of a tale in Roman history with a similar theme, related in "Virginia", one of Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, and dramatised by James Sheridan Knowles.

V. Stories and Adaptations of Shakespeare's Plays.

The foregoing two chapters have dealt with the history of direct Shakespearian translation in Japan from its beginnings to the present day. During this period, however, many of Shakespeare's plays were introduced to the public as adaptations or in novel or story form, including translations from Lamb's *Tales*. Many of these versions were published as books; others appeared in periodicals. Together they are so numerous that in Mr. Yamaguchi's Shakespeare Bibliography the books, alone, containing one or more stories from Shakespeare and published before 1928 number ninety-seven—which includes reprints of books already listed, but not adaptations. Hence it will be only to the more important of the stories and adaptations that the reader's attention is directed in this chapter; and the adaptations will all be of a definitely Japanised type, versions with only slight changes being treated as translations.

We have already seen that "The Strange Affair of the Flesh of the Bosom", published in a periodical in 1877, was a thoroughly Japanised adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*. This was a very early example of its kind; its successor, also mentioned before, was a much more elaborate adaptation of the same play which was put on the stage in 1885 and published in the same year; we shall return to it when discussing the relation of Shakespeare's plays to the Japanese stage. In the following year, 1886, Kanagaki Robun's adaptation of *Hamlet*[1] appeared in the *Tōkyō Eiri Shimbun* (Tōkyō Graphic); the period is the fourteenth century, and the scene is laid at Yamagata, an old feudal

[1] Mention has already been made of an earlier adaptation of this play by the same hand, and it was stated that Robun, who was not an English scholar, probably heard the story from his journalist friend Fukuchi Ōchi, likely source of other Shakespearian adaptations, too.

capital in the far north of Japan. Udagawa Bunkai, who in 1885 made the second adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*, mentioned above, adapted *As You Like It* as a novel for the *Ōsaka Asahi*, a leading newspaper; and after him Jōno Saikiku made at least two adaptations, both novels, one of which, *Three Daughters* (of Lear), appeared in the *Yamato* newspaper in 1890, and the other, a Japanised *Othello*, was published in the same columns in 1891.

A novel entitled *Taisei Jōwa Sōfuren* (a love-story in the Western manner), was published in Osaka in 1892. Of the writer, who uses only the pseudonym Chikuyō-sanjin, nothing is known. The opening pages of this novel, which are a kind of preface, show the author to have been influenced by Tsubouchi's memorable work, *The Spirit of the Novel*, and contain the statement that some of the characters have been modelled on those occurring in Shakespearian "romances"—a faithful wife made unhappy, a dutiful but ill-fated son, an able man afflicted with misfortune. The scene of the book is laid in Osaka; the social background is that of a time soon after the inauguration of the Imperial Diet. The Shakespearian echoes are very faint, and sometimes grievously distort the original. Tomekichi, for instance, who resembles Hamlet to the extent of being a dutiful but ill-fated son, was born of a union between a German living in Yokohama and a Japanese woman: the name given to the German, Lytton, may have been suggested by that of the novelist, several of whose books have been translated into Japanese during the previous decade. Among the other characters are one or two women whose experiences may remotely recall Hermione, and one or two men bearing some resemblance to Antonio. What is important here, however, is not the intrinsic value of the novel, which is very slight, but the fact that it is a rare example of Shakespeare's early influence on the creative literature of Japan.

Some adaptations more important than those in non-dramatic form appeared soon; but being directly connected with the stage they will be discussed in the appropriate chapter.

The year 1883, which saw the first Japanese translation of a complete Shakespearian play, was also the year in which Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* made their bow in Japanese dress. In the spring of 1883, fairly faithful translations of four *Tales—The Winter's Tale*, *As You Like It*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Hamlet*—were published under the general title of "Spring-night Stories" in the *Hōchi Shimbun*, one of the leading Tōkyō papers. The translation of *As You Like It* was reprinted the same year in book form, as No. 1 of a "Pictorial Series of Tales from Shakespeare" (which seems to have gone no further). The translator, who on both occasions gave only his pseudonym, Suiran, is identified by Mr. Yanagida Izumi [2] with Fujita Mokichi, a popular author whose usual pseudonym was Meikaku; for in the preface to a similar version of *Cymbeline* published by the *Hōchi Shimbun* in the following year under the pseudonym Kyūkō (known for certain to be another of the names used by Fujita) the translator says he contributed the "Spring-night Stories" to the paper. In 1885 the *Hōchi* printed three more *Tales—Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, and *All's Well that Ends Well*—translated by Kyūkō.

A rather free version of Lamb's *Merchant of Venice* also came out in 1883. It was entitled *Jinniku Shichiire Saiban* (A Lawsuit about a Pledge of Human Flesh); the translator was Inoué Tsutomu. This version immediately took the public fancy, and was reprinted several times. The author seems to have had the widest success among the translators of popular Western literature in the early years of Meiji. He was the eldest son of Inoué Yoshitake (who wrote under the name Fumei), one of the first doctors in Japan to practise vaccination: he had studied medicine under Siebold at Nagasaki. Tsutomu, born in 1850, was first taught English by a Dutchman, at the age of six. Later he was employed at the German consulate in Kobe. For about

[2] Mr. Yanagida is the author of a history of Western literature translated into Japanese during the early years of the Meiji era, to which work I am indebted for various details, especially those concerning early translators of Lamb's *Tales*.

ten years after 1881 he lived in Tōkyō, holding a post under the Meiji Government in which his knowledge of foreign languages made him useful. The rest of his life (he died in 1928) was spent chiefly in Kobe, except for a stay in America when he was about fifty. In his latter years he seems to have made a hobby of gardening. He is now remembered mainly for his translations of Western stories, largely the result of his Tōkyō labours. His version of Lamb's *Hamlet*, published in 1888 under the title of "The Ghost", was not so popular as his *Merchant of Venice*. Besides these two Shakespearian stories he translated *Robinson Crusoe* (Part I), More's *Utopia*, part of Wilkie Collins's *Man and Wife*, and, through English, *The Arabian Nights*, *Les Misérables*, and many of Jules Verne's romances.

The year 1886 was prolific in Shakespearian versions: Kawashima Keizō's translations of two plays, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Julius Cæsar*, were published in book form; Kanagaki Robun's adaptation of *Hamlet* appeared in a Tōkyō picture-paper; and in addition to at least two different editions of Inoué's version, first printed in the previous year, of Lamb's *Merchant of Venice*, nine more Tales, translated with varying degrees of faithfulness by three separate writers, appeared in the course of the year—for in August the translation by Murakiku-yashi, whose real name is Nitta Keijirō, of Lamb's *Winter's Tale* and *Measure for Measure*, were published in one volume, and in December there appeared a collection of six more versions by Shinada Takichi (see below), as well as Takeuchi Yosojirō's version of Lamb's *Lear*.

To Nitta Keijirō, who translated three more of Lamb's *Tales* in these early years of Meiji, much credit is due in the history of how Shakespeare was popularised in Japan. He was born at Nitta, a village in the province of Idzu, in 1858. In 1872 his teacher of Chinese classics saw that the lad might render great service to New Japan with a knowledge of English, and advised him to learn the language. Nitta did so, and, having a natural linguistic gift, made quick progress at the various schools he attended; but in

1877, when he was at a commercial school in Tōkyō, failing health obliged him to return home. In October, 1884, he went back to Tōkyō, commissioned to translate an English legal work: there was urgent need for such translations, as the Imperial Diet was to be inaugurated in a few years' time and political Japan was being radically reconstructed. When Nitta got to Tōkyō he realised that he had not a good enough dictionary at his disposal, and wrote home for his own. While waiting he read a borrowed book, which chanced to be Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*; he found it interesting, and in five days had translated *The Winter's Tale*. He tells us this in a preface to the book containing this version and *Measure for Measure*, published in 1886 as mentioned above, and says that Lamb's *Tales* was a rare book in Japan at that time. He had translated the story of *Measure for Measure* in 1885, when he was again back in his native village. He also translated three more *Tales*—*The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Tempest*, and *Timon of Athens*—which all appeared in 1888. It is worth noting that whereas in Nitta's early translations the style was uniformly literary, even in dialogue, according to the custom of most novelists of the day, in the versions of 1888 a small amount of colloquialism is introduced into the conversations. It was only a year or two previously that the use of the colloquial style in novels, not only in dialogue but also in narrative, had been ventured on by two writers, Hasegawa Futabatei and Yamada Bimyō: they saw that the prevailing style in Western novels was the language of daily life, and were convinced that this ought to be the normal prose style of any language; and, in fact, *gembun-itchi*—one style for both spoken and written language, written style being assimilated to spoken—advocated and practised by these two novelists, has become substantially the normal style of modern Japanese prose literature. The change in Nitta's style, however, is less likely to be the conscious application of this revolutionary idea than the result of the general atmosphere of the new age. Nitta, who seems never to have been robust, died in 1891 at the age of thirty-three.

Reference has already been made to a collection of six

versions from Lamb that came out in December, 1886: it included *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Merchant of Venice*. The translations purport to be the work of Shinada Takichi, but Mr. T. Yamaguchi, compiler of a full bibliography of Shakespeare in Japan, believes the real translator to have been Kinoshita Shinzaburō, whose versions of Lamb's *Romeo and Juliet* and *Pericles* were published in the following year, successively in booklet form, under the pseudonym of Shunyen-shōshi.[3]

In December, 1886, also, a translation of another of Lamb's *Tales* was published: Takeuchi Yosojirō's *King Lear*. Takeuchi was a graduate of the Pharmacological Department of the Kanazawa Medical School. He is said to have fought steadily for ten years in the cause of total abstinence and become a persevering Christian, but a fundamental restlessness found expression in constant changes of occupation and address (the latter more than forty times). He died at São Paulo, Brazil, in 1927, aged sixty-two. In his kaleidoscopic life the version of Lamb's *Lear* was apparently the only literary episode worth mentioning, though for a time he was a newspaper reporter.

A noteworthy translation that appeared in 1888 was Wada Mankichi's free version of *All's Well that Ends Well*. Wada, who was later for many years Director of the Central Library attached to the Imperial University of Tōkyō, was then an undergraduate. Though his version, as he himself admits, lacks unity of style, it is in good Japanese; and the mixture of old and new styles, and the *nō* play ending given to the story, reflect the transition-mood of the literary language at that time. This was the year in which four other *Tales* appeared in Japanese dress: three by K. Nitta, and one by T. Inoué, as already stated. In the next year but one, Noguchi Takejirō's translation of Lamb's *Taming*

[3] It may be noted that the ostensible translator of the six *Tales*, T. Shinada, was the publisher of the book—and of S. Kinoshita's version of *Pericles*. (*Pericles* was, more accurately, the work of S. Akashi, Kinoshita's surname having been changed.)

of the Shrew appeared as part of the eighth volume of the Hakubunkan series, The World's Hundred Greatest Men. This brings us down to 1890.[4] The eighties in Japan were a decade in which translations and outlines of Western stories were published in great numbers, in periodicals and books. In the bibliography appended to Mr. Yanagida's history of Western literature translated into Japanese in the early years of Meiji the entries for the twentieth year of this era, 1887, number 101, of which forty-nine are English and twenty-nine French. This is the climax of the bibliography, which covers the period from the first to the twenty-second year of Meiji, *i.e.*, 1868–89. For the next ten years translations of English literature and even the taste for it lapsed in Japan, largely owing to the influence of Continental literature in the East—as in England during the seventies and eighties. But this vogue in Japan, though found among the general reading-public, was confined to the vanguard of writers; the study of Shakespeare, and of English literature in general, was carried on by scholars, and, as we shall see, commentaries on certain Shakespearian plays and Lamb's *Tales* were published, usually accompanied by text and literal translation.

After the thirtieth year of Meiji, or, roughly, after 1900, which corresponds to the thirty-third year of the era, translations of Shakespeare's plays and Lamb's *Tales* for the general reading-public began to appear again, in steadily increasing numbers. The translations from the original plays have already been dealt with; the rest of this chapter will be devoted to some of the more important versions of the *Tales*. Free versions of single *Tales* after this are too numerous for particular treatment: we must be content to draw attention to the popularity, from this time onward, of issuing various series of world's classics, necessarily including some stories from Shakespeare. The pioneer in this type of publication was the Fuzambo Popular Series of World's

[4] The Lamb versions mentioned in this chapter, with a dozen more versions based on the *Tales*, give an almost complete list of Shakespearian stories published in Japan from their first appearance in 1883 down to 1890.

Classics, which included versions of five of Lamb's *Tales*. Of these versions *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, and *Twelfth Night*, by Sugitani Daisui, were more faithful to Lamb's text than *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice*, by Nakajima Kotō, which were more like novels with a great deal of dialogue. The stories, grouped according to their translators, formed two volumes of the series, both appearing in 1903.

In July, 1904, a book was published that is well worth our attention. It consists of faithful translations of ten of Lamb's *Tales*, with some marginal notes.[5] The translator, Mr. Komatsu Takeharu, says in his preface that although Lamb's *Tales* were written for children, especially girls, his translations are intended for the general reading public of Japan, where the average man's knowledge of Shakespeare is still very rudimentary. Mr. Komatsu modestly describes himself as a voice crying in the wilderness, heralding a greater comer; for he has heard that the plan of translating the original plays of Shakespeare is to be realised by his friends and seniors; he probably refers to the collaboration of Tozawa and Asano, the first fruit of which appeared in the following year. Mr. Komatsu expresses his indebtedness to three lecturers at the College of Letters of Tōkyō Imperial University. They are Natsume Sōseki,[6] Ueda Ryūson,[7] and Arthur Lloyd, each of whom wrote a few introductory words for his former student: Sōseki's happy idea was to pick ten short passages from the plays and sum up the sentiment of each in a Japanese *hakku* of seventeen syllables.

Mr. Komatsu's book deserved these forewords by eminent scholars. It is divided into two groups, the first consisting of five tragedies (*Lear*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*), translated in a literary style, and the second of five comedies (*As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Tempest*,

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[5] The first edition was published in 1904 by the Hitaka Yūrindō; the book was republished in 1907 by the Hakubunkan.

[6] Mention of his Shakespeare readings will be made in the next chapter. He afterwards became one of the greatest novelists Japan has ever had.

[7] Afterwards Professor of English Literature in the Imperial University of Kyoto.

The Merchant of Venice, *The Winter's Tale*), rendered in a colloquial style. Besides taking pains over his style, the translator shows his zeal and thoroughness in various supplementary aids to the reader: he translates Lamb's preface, gives brief explanations of the plays whose stories are included in his book, lists the chief characters in them, and supplies lives of Charles and Mary Lamb and of Shakespeare. Mr. Komatsu also translated Quiller-Couch's stories from Shakespeare's historical plays. The translation appeared in 1914.

In 1907 there appeared a metrical version of the story of *The Merchant of Venice*, by a young man named Tomikashi Kanjirō. The version is in ballad style and consists of 132 four-line stanzas: its interest lies less in its literary merit, which is not very great, than in its being a curious and presumably unique instance of a sustained metrical version in the history of translated Shakespearian stories in Japan.[8] A passage in the preface shows that Tomikashi knew something of Tolstoy's criticism of Shakespeare; but his belief in the poet's greatness remains unshaken, and he declares that his motive in making the version is to let the ordinary public get an idea of Shakespeare's charm.

Of the numerous Japanese versions of Shakespearian stories based to varying extents on Lamb two merit special attention. They contain translations of all twenty *Tales*, and are quite recent. The second series of "Stories of Masterpieces" in the People's Library appeared in 1927: it included *Gulliver's Travels* in the version of Nogami Toyoichirō, whom we have already mentioned in the previous chapter, and Lamb's *Tales* in the version of Hirata Tokuboku, a veteran English-scholar and Elian. The more recent

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[8] Shimazaki Tōson's translation of *Venus and Adonis*, already mentioned, is in the style of the Japanese ballad drama, a sort of poetical prose, the nature of which has been explained in a footnote to Chap. III. Dr. Tsubouchi's rendering of Shakespeare's non-dramatic poetry is also in prose; for although the translation follows the text line by line, still the number of syllables is not counted, nor is the version characterised with poetic rhythm.

translation of the *Tales* (1932), with Lamb's preface, by Nogami Yayoiko, wife of Mr. Nogami mentioned above, is worthy of particular notice, for the translator, a discerning appreciator of English literature, is the foremost woman novelist of present-day Japan.

By the side of these Shakespearian stories in Japanese dress, notes on Lamb's *Tales* appeared in great numbers. They were usually accompanied by translations for the convenience of readers of the English text. Some of these commentaries are the work of genuine scholars; their separate treatment, however, lies outside the scope of this little book, and we must proceed to a general survey of Shakespearian exegesis in Japan.

VI. Commentaries; Biographical and Critical Studies.

1. *Commentaries.*

It has already been said that by 1891 the study of Shakespeare in Japan had reached the stage at which commentaries by native scholars began to be issued. In that year there were published two sets of notes on parts of certain plays, with corresponding translations. One set—notes on, and translation of, the first two acts of *Macbeth*, by Dr. Tsubouchi—was printed in the *Waseda Journal of Literature*.[1] The translation was in literary style, with notes, intended to help young students, following every sentence or passage. The cautious preface is worth quoting. Tsubouchi says there are two ways of writing notes: one is to explain the language and diction with reference to rhetorical value; the other is to give a critical interpretation of the ideals the interpreter thinks are expressed in the play. At first he inclined to the latter method, but reflection drew him to the former: Shakespeare is closely akin to Nature, so that the spiritual interpretation of his plays can pursue an infinite variety of methods, according to the disposition and general cultivation of the interpreter. Later in the same preface Dr. Tsubouchi compares Shakespeare and Chikamatsu, saying: "If Chikamatsu were a jewel the size of a finger-tip, Shakespeare would be one as big as a fist; the difference between them appears to be one of quantity, not of quality, and even if there is a difference in quality the two jewels are equally the product of Nature, not of human artifice." Here a word of comment may not be superfluous; for, if we are to use the metaphor of jewels, some critics think that the two differ in kind: although tragic grandeur

[1] Tsubouchi's free translation of *Julius Cæsar*, published in book form in 1884, and his version of the greater part of *Hamlet*, Act I, appearing in the *Chūō Gakujutsu Zasshi* of the following year, were not annotated.

does not belong to Chikamatsu's genius, he is the creator of a tragic world of pathos.

The other commentary appearing in 1891 was an edition of the trial-scene in *The Merchant of Venice*, with translation and notes by Isobe Yaichirō, an enthusiastic English-scholar: at the time he was president of the Kokumin Eigakkai, an association that conducted a large private school for teaching English. J. M. Dixon, then Professor of English Literature in the Imperial University of Tōkyō, and B. H. Chamberlain, Professor Emeritus of the same University, each wrote words in encouragement of Isobe's enterprise in editing and annotating for Japanese students some of the masterpieces of English poetry. In his preface Isobe declares himself indebted to the notes of Rolfe, Hunter, and Wright, and especially to Deighton's, just appearing. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar* and Schmidt's *Lexicon* were consulted. Isobe makes acknowledgments, also, to a Japanese authority, Inoué Jūkichi, at that time a high-school teacher and later well known to English-students as a lexicographer.

In 1892 there appeared a similar work—but this time a whole play, *Julius Cæsar*, translated and annotated by Ōkura Motozumi, with the help of Ōta Sukenori and an American teacher named Wells. In both this and the preceding work, however, as the prefaces admit, the immediate aim was not to give a translation in good Japanese, but only to assist comprehension of the general sense; thus the versions were of a different style from Dr. Tsubouchi's mentioned above. In 1892, also, full notes to *Hamlet* by Mr. Murata Yūji began to appear in the *Nippon Eigaku Shinshi* (New Magazine for English-studies), just launched by Mr. Masuda Tōnosuke, an able scholar.[2]

When Natsume Sōseki was lecturing on English literature

[2] In Nos. 1—5, 17—20 (Aug. 28, 1892—Jan. 13, 1893) of this journal there appeared the notes to *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene I and part of Scene II; after an interval the notes were continued, from No. 38. Mr. Murata, formerly on the staff of the First High School for many years, is now principal of the Seisoku Eigo Gakkō, a large private institution for teaching English, founded by Saitō Hidesaburō, a famous authority on English grammar.

in the Imperial University of Tōkyō he read several plays of Shakespeare's with his classes; and, fortunately, at least part of his comments, including those on *Othello*, read with his class in 1905, have been preserved by Mr. T. Nogami, mentioned before, who published them in 1930. Mr. Nogami was an attentive student at Sōseki's lectures; he took notes in Cassell's pocket-edition of the play, to aid his memory, and with no thought of publication; but Sōseki's insight and originality are manifest even in these jottings. For example, his comment on Iago's words[3] (IV, i, 178–80, Arden edn.) to Othello was to this effect:—

"Will Othello, in his present position (1) become more jealous if Cassio behaves to Desdemona more tenderly, or (2) suffer more if Cassio treats her negligently? A nice point of psychology. Shakespeare chose the second situation, but in my opinion the other is better, to feed Othello's jealousy. The first situation makes Othello hate Desdemona; the second makes him hate Cassio."

Again, giving "prudent" as the equivalent of "wise" in Iago's words to his wife: "Be wise, and get you home" (V, ii, 221), Sōseki offers his theory of dramatic literature:—

"To be 'wise' as the world accounts wisdom demands keeping one's own counsel on such occasions. If Emilia were living among us, she would be called a fool: for by keeping her own counsel she could save her life. But characters in the drama are often fools in the world of practical life. The drama purifies the affairs of real life, and then passes judgment. What we observe in ten years of real life, it condenses into a single evening in the theatre. Hence real life and the stage are two different things. A play is interesting because it is disinterested."

In 1909 a Japanese edition of *Othello*, with translation and full critical notes by Sugano Tokusuke, was published, as recorded earlier in these pages. Sugano's preface quotes Hudson's enthusiastic words about Shakespeare:—

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[3] "Yours, by this hand: and to see how he prizes the foolish woman your wife! she gave it [the handkerchief] him, and he hath given it his whore."

"There can be no extravagance in saying that to all who speak the English language his genius had made the world better worth living in, and life a nobler and diviner thing. And even among those who do not speak the tongue that Shakespeare spoke, large numbers are studying the English language mainly for the purpose of being at home with him."

This applies to Sugano himself, for, the preface continues, one of the two books that taught him the pleasure of reading was T. Inoué's translation of Lamb's *Merchant of Venice*.[4] He was then a primary-school boy; more than ten years later, in Tōkyō, the reading of Shakespearian extracts in Swinton's *Studies in English Literature* became the turning-point in his career. He discontinued his studies in economics, his chief subject, to have more time for English; and his enthusiasm waxed so strong that he went to America, where he spent four years, first getting a thorough knowledge of the language at a high-school, and then making a special study of English literature at the Bethany College in West Virginia. On his way home he spent a few months in England: he visited Stratford-on-Avon, and in London saw *Othello* played by Lewis Waller's company. This was his immediate motive for translating and annotating the play on his return to Japan, where he was appointed lecturer on English literature at Waseda University. His version is in good Japanese, yet with the words carefully chosen so as to keep fairly close to the original expression. The notes are on the whole very clear and accurate, and are enriched with personal impressions and interpretations, often evincing profound insight. An example is his comment on the character of Desdemona:—

"Desdemona's sad fate cannot but inspire in us the same feeling as in Johnson and Halliwell. But what is most to be dreaded in calamity is its withering and depraving effect on the heart: and though, of all that are born to ill fate, Desdemona was the most unfortunate, she kept her purity and warmth of heart unaffected in misfortune, and

[4] The other was a collection of old heroic stories of China.

offered boundless love to him that would take her life; and to be able to do this—is it not a most blessed state of heart? In this sense she died happy, beyond the reach of fate's malice: and I rejoice in her happiness, and am grateful to Shakespeare's genius for giving us this character."

Sugano apparently planned to extend his labours to other plays of Shakespeare's. Indeed, an edition of *The Merchant of Venice* that was once his and is now in the possession of Professor Sawamura is full of his pencilled drafts for a translation. He died, however, in 1915, aged forty-five, before his *Othello* could be followed up. Being in advance of the average interest in Shakespeare at that time in Japan, his *Othello* did not sell well: but, as already said, it was reprinted in 1928 by Sugano's friend, Professor Sawamura.

By this time various annotated editions of Shakespeare's plays published abroad had come into use in Japan. The most popular were the Macmillan editions, with full notes by Deighton, whose paraphrases and explanations did much (and still help, within their scope) to promote textual knowledge of Shakespeare in Japan: Dr. Tsubouchi seems to have consulted Deighton's notes, especially for his early translations. Notes of a more fundamental kind, however, were forthcoming from Dr. Ichikawa, then Assistant Professor of English in the Imperial University of Tōkyō. An edition of *The Merchant of Venice* by him appeared in 1917, with notes embodying the results of a fundamental study of English grammar, historically considered, and comparing Shakespeare's language with present-day English through numerous quotations. Notes on *Macbeth* were published in the following year; and further works of annotation by Dr. Ichikawa will be referred to a little later.

Between 1916 and 1920 F. A. Lombard, at that time Professor of English Literature in the Dōshisha University, and Lecturer in the same subject in the Imperial University of Kyoto, annotated three plays of Shakespeare's, *Macbeth* (1916), *Lear* (1917), and *The Merchant of Venice* (1920). In a general "foreword" Professor Lombard says that "it is in character-creation that the genius of Shakespeare is pre-

eminent ", and that " experience in teaching has from year to year deepened the conviction that greater emphasis should be placed on those personal elements which make for culture ". His conviction is reflected in his notes, by far the greater part of which are devoted to exposition of character. Such notes face text; difficult words and phrases are explained at the foot of the page.

When, in 1921, the Kenkyusha, a large firm specialising in books for English-students, began to issue an imposing series of English classics,[5] Professor Ichikawa, who shared the general editorship with Professor Okakura, annotated for it, besides other works, the following plays, published between 1921 and 1931: *Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *The Tempest*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Macbeth*,[6] *Othello*, *The Merchant of Venice*,[6] *As You Like It*, *1 and 2 Henry IV*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. To these annotations of Shakespearian plays Professor Okakura, editor of many other books in the series, added in 1928 an annotated text of Shakespeare's non-dramatic poetry—*Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets*. Each book in the series contains a thoughtful introduction.

In 1931 the same company published an edition of *Julius Cæsar* with an introduction and copious notes by Mr. Tsuzuki Tōsaku. This work was followed in 1932 by a similar edition of *Hamlet*, and Mr. Tsuzuki's researches are expected to bear still further fruit. Passing reference to him was made in Chapter IV: he has been engaged—or rather, engrossed—in the study of Shakespeare's plays for more than twenty years, and his notes are the result of painstaking consultation of every available book bearing on the subject; his *Cæsar* and *Hamlet* are therefore a kind of variorum edition, though he occasionally inserts his own

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[5] This series, which was enlarged five times in ten years, now comprises one hundred and seventeen volumes, covering English literature from Chaucer to Hardy. A new series of contemporary works, and a biographical series, are now being published by the same company.

[6] The notes to these two plays are a revision of the editor's former notes, supplemented by the results of his latest research.

opinion. In a general preface to the two books Mr. Tsuzuki explains the relation of his notes to Shakespeare's text and Dr. Tsubouchi's translation in terms of mathematics: the text is, as it were, the problem, the translation is the answer, on the whole correct, and his notes are the process of calculation. To *Hamlet* Professor Okakura contributes an interesting introduction, in which he traces the various interpretations of the play put forward by Coleridge, Hazlitt, Bradley, and Quiller-Couch.

In 1932 Uraguchi Bunji published his *Shakespeare's "Hamlet" as Seen by the Elizabethan Audience.*[7] This is an edition of the play, with detailed critical notes. The editor was for many years Professor of English in the Tōkyō College of Commerce, and now teaches at various colleges and universities. He studied at Harvard, and says in his preface that since then he has been engaged in the study of Shakespeare for twenty years, the last three of which have been devoted to preparing this annotated *Hamlet*. His notes are based not only on his wide and discriminating reading, but also on the notes he took of Professor Kittredge's lectures at Harvard, 1913–15, as well as on frequent correspondence with the professor since. But Professor Uraguchi had his own principle for unifying this material, namely his characteristic view of Hamlet, whom he regards as an admirable young man striving throughout his short life for the realisation of two noble ideals—political reform and the purification of love. Professor Uraguchi's own translation of *Hamlet* came out in 1935.

In 1933 there appeared an edition of *Julius Cæsar*, with translation and notes by Professor Sawamura. Attention has already been drawn to this book and its editor. The preface makes a happy comparison of the roles played by translation and commentary in the proper understanding of a Shakespearian play: commentary is to translation what an anatomical drawing is to a portrait, or a Baedeker

[7] All the books by Japanese scholars on Shakespeare and English literature in general that are mentioned in this essay are in the vernacular, but for convenience their titles are given here in English.

description of lovely scenery to a painting of it. A combination of both aids is necessary for full comprehension. Sawamura's edition, in the same series, of *The Merchant of Venice* followed in 1934, and of *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in succeeding years. In 1932 he had edited *Readings from Shakespeare*, with introduction and notes: the text consisted of extracts from *Julius Cæsar*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *The Tempest*, and *Hamlet*.

Dr. Hosoé Itsuki, professor of English at the Osaka College of Commerce, and one of Japan's leading authorities on English grammar, contributed to Shakespearian annotation the results of his study of *Cæsar* (1935), *Macbeth* (1936), and *The Merchant of Venice* (1938). His dissertation on Shakespeare's English was printed in *Eigo Seinen* (The Rising Generation) between April, 1929, and March, 1931.

2. *Biographical and Critical Studies.*

As biographical and critical studies, especially of Shakespeare, are often inseparable, it will be convenient to treat them in one section. Mention has already been made of brief lives of the Poet appearing before 1881. An early instance after this date is found in the *Bungaku Zasshi*, Vol. III, No. 2 (July, 1887). This magazine was founded in Osaka in 1885 as organ of the Japanese branch of the American Chautauqua Society of Literature: its contents seem to be translated American material. The life of Shakespeare fills nine of the small pages.

After this, Shakespeare's claim to inclusion in Japanese encyclopedias and biographical dictionaries of international or Western scope was seldom ignored. Volume XXII (published in 1889) of Sonoda Raishirō's *New Encyclopedia*, the Occidental Volume of Yamada Taketarō's *International Biographical Dictionary* (1893), and Ōwada Tateki's *Lives of English and American Men of Letters* (published in 1894 as Vol. IX of the "National Library") each contain a short life of Shakespeare.[8] T. Yamada ("Bimyō"), mentioned earlier as one of the leading novelists of his day, naturally

[8] They were all published by the Hakubunkan in Tōkyō.

included lives of many Occidental poets in his biographical dictionary: Shakespeare occupies more than eight double-columned pages, and Milton six. In Ōwada's *Lives* Shakespeare heads the list of thirty-five men of letters, but gets only eight pages, against Milton's twelve.

Three years previous to Ōwada's *Lives* the first Japanese history of English (including American) literature had been issued by the Hakubunkan.[9] Shibue Tamotsu, author of this and other books, led subsequent Japanese historians of English literature in giving a prominent place to Shakespeare. But the treatment of Shakespeare in these histories will form the subject of the following chapter.

In 1901 Nakamura Yoshio's life of Shakespeare had won the distinction of being the first Japanese book devoted exclusively to Shakespeare. The author was a graduate of the Law College in the Imperial University of Tōkyō; his work was Volume XXI of the "Biographies of Universal History" series issued by the Hakubunkan. Though the author says nothing of sources used in compiling the book, it is evident that first-hand research and original views were equally outside the scope of his ambition; but the 132 pages give an interesting account of the poet's life, with due attention to the historical background. Nakamura concludes by expressing his appreciation of Shakespeare, who, he says, was not only representative of his own age but also penetrated the inner thought of all the ages; was not only a prophet of the Elizabethan age, but also a great seer of life in general; and a comparison is drawn between Shakespeare's period and the Meiji era, with regret expressed that the latter, after more than thirty years, has not yet produced the looked-for prophet in the new world of letters.

In 1903 Mr. (later Dr.) Shima Bunjirō's *Outline History of the British Drama* was published. There are 342 pages in all, of which Shakespeare occupies sixty-five. In the interpretation of the four periods of the poet's creative activity, the author follows Dowden, and the brief explana-

[9] It was re-issued two years later as a volume in the Hakubunkan Popular Educational Series.

tion of each play is largely devoted to the question of its source and date.

In 1906 a full and careful Shakespeare-bibliography by Professor Ueda, of the Imperial University of Kyoto, appeared in *Tokusho Gūhitsu* (Notes on Books), a memorial edition published by Maruzen & Co. This bibliography, which begins with the quarto editions of the plays, fills seventy-three pages.

In 1908 a life of Shakespeare by Mr. Sakuma Hajime (now Professor at Waseda) was issued as Volume XVII of the "Great Men" series, and another life, by Mr. Sasayama Jun'ichi, appeared in 1910. The preface to the latter book gives a reference-list:—

> Hazlitt: *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays.*
> Coleridge: *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare.*
> Dowden: *Shakespeare, His Mind and Art.*
> ,, *Introduction to Shakespeare.*

This shows that the author was, for his time, at least on the right track. He also acknowledges indebtedness to J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, Sidney Lee, F. G. Fleay, and G. Brandes. The title of his book, literally "Shakespeare, a new translation", seems to indicate a biography of the poet translated from various sources.

In 1910 there also appeared *A Study of the Play "Hamlet"*, by Professor Hirata Motokichi, of the Kyoto High School. This book was the result of careful research, and was much esteemed by Dr. Tsubouchi. Professor Hirata says in his preface that his method of studying a masterpiece is to read it repeatedly, and then, by consulting the most reliable criticisms and interpretations, to strive to comprehend the full meaning of the work, as well as to develop his own *Kunstverstand*. *Shakespeare's Hamlet*, by Kuno Fischer, was a source of great illumination for him, but still left him in darkness on many doubtful points. For four more years he consulted other authorities on the play, and finally used his own judgment in writing his book. The sources mentioned include, besides Fischer's study, *The New Variorum Shakespeare*, edited by Furness, Karl

Werder's *Vorlesungen über Shakespeare's Hamlet*, Richard Löning's *Die Hamlet-Tragödie*, and books by Sidney Lee, Bradley, and Max Wolf. Professor Hirata's study is divided into six chapters: (1) The Formation of the Play, (2) The Character of Hamlet, (3) The Behaviour of Hamlet, (4) Characters around Hamlet, and Shakespeare's Tragedies in General.[10] In the last chapter the author says that such plays as *Lear* and *Hamlet* may be called life-plays or world-plays, because in them the sublimity and the wretchedness of this life are both shown to the full, reflecting the true nature of the world. The book concluded with a quotation from the preface to the third edition of Dowden's *Shakespeare*: "We acquire the same feeling with reference to *Hamlet* which we have for Goethe's *Faust*—that it has to do with almost the whole of the deeper part of the poet's life up to the date of its creation." It is perhaps needless to remark that the tendency in Shakespearian criticism has since changed: it has left subjective romanticism behind. Forty years ago, however, Shakespearian criticism in Japan had caught up with that of the world in general at that time.

Kimura Takatarō's *Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and its Oriental Materials* (1915) is a booklet that seeks to show the relation of the "Hamlet legend" to Eastern myths and literature. The author argues that the scene of Greek mythology seems to have been, really, the region about the mouth of the Ganges; and that since *Hamlet* appears to him to be adapted from Greek mythology, its scene must have been there, too. He then identifies many characters in the play with figures in Japanese history and literature. I am not aware, however, that his theory has found any serious supporters.[11]

A worthy Japanese memorial of the Shakespeare tercentenary appeared in April, 1916. It was *Shakespeare: His*

[10] It should be added that Professor Hirata's quotations from *Hamlet* are accompanied by Dr. Tsubouchi's translation.

[11] *The Ancient History of Japan, Based on a Study of World History*, by the same author, contains in Vol. I (1912) the same identification of characters in *Hamlet* with figures in Japanese tradition.

Life and Works, by a university lecturer who is now Professor Saito of Tōkyō Imperial University. He declares that his aim has been to present, as accurately as possible, a general account of the poet's life and works, explaining the latter in their chronological places. But although (he continues) knowledge of the facts of Shakespeare's life, and of the criticisms of his works and their form, may make a man learned, the possession of such knowledge does not, of itself, constitute appreciation of this great literature. Hence, as a means of making the reader directly acquainted with the poet, passages of considerable length from nearly all his works are quoted in the book, with the author's translations (and some notes on difficult words and phrases, at the back of the book). Thus the volume may be said to comprise a life of Shakespeare, outlines and criticisms of his works, and an anthology. So claims the author in his preface, in which he expresses his indebtedness to such scholars as Lee, Bradley, Dowden, Herford, Churton Collins, and John Lawrence. The last-named was for many years Professor of English Language and Literature in the Imperial University of Tōkyō, where Saito was one of his ablest students; he died some six weeks before the publication of the book, which was dedicated to his memory.

In 1924 Kimura Sōta's translation of the pages on Shakespeare in Taine's *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* was issued by the publishing department of the "New Village",[12] as No. 8 of its "Human Documents".

The following year saw the publication of Dr. Ueda Seiji's posthumous work, *The Shakespearian Stage and its History*. Dr. Ueda was Professor of German Literature in the Imperial University of Tōkyō; this interesting book is based on some extra lectures given a few years before his death.

In 1926 Mr. Takahara Nobuo's *Shakespeare* came out, as

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[12] The "New Village" was a kind of Pantisocracy; but its members, instead of dreaming from afar of an ideal society in the New World, left Tōkyō and went to live in a rural district of the old island of Kyushu.

No. 3 of the " World Literature " series issued by the Tōbō Shuppan Sha (Oriental Publishing House). Mr. Takahara, after graduating at Waseda, where Professors Tsubouchi and Yokoyama lectured on Shakespeare, studied in America for five years, attending at Columbia the lectures of Professors Brander Matthews and Thorndike, and for about a year (1923–4) travelled in England and on the Continent, making a study of the European theatre. His chief interest has always lain in the theatrical art, and the aim of his book is to bring out clearly Shakespeare's genius as a dramatic artist.

We have already mentioned Dr. Tsubouchi's *Introduction to the Study of Shakespeare* (1928), a booklet supplementary to the series of his translations of the poet's complete works. In 1935, soon after his death, a revised edition appeared, enlarged with the author's own afterthoughts. This " first door " to Shakespearian knowledge was meant to lead straight to advanced study: hence the author not only traces, with some comment, the whole development of Shakespearian studies, but also mentions various important problems connected with the subject, giving the results of the latest research. The poet is approached from many sides —linguistic, literary, biographical, theatrical—and the Bacon, Oxford, and group theories, as well as the problems of the Sonnets, are explained with judicious comments. Useful bibliographies are provided for the study of every phase and problem touched on. The final chapter discusses various questions concerning Tsubouchi's own translation, the five stages of which have already been dealt with.

The last of Mr. Abe Takashi's *Lectures on the British Drama* (1929) gives the history of the Western presentation of Shakespeare's plays, down to the present day.

Professor Yokoyama's *Studies in Shakespeare* (1931) is a posthumous work compiled by his former teacher Masuda Tōnosuke, himself a veteran English-scholar. Professor Yokoyama, who translated several plays of Shakespeare's and wrote a history of English literature, was one of Dr. Tsubouchi's foremost disciples. After graduating at Waseda

he studied at Harvard, where he attended the lectures of Professor Kittredge and specialised in the drama and Shakespeare. On his return his chief energies were devoted to the service of his *alma mater*, where he was soon appointed Professor of English Literature. His *Studies in Shakespeare*, published two years after his death, contains in compendious form the results of his studies in the poet's age, life, and works, with additional chapters on "Shakespeare and Religion" and "The Shakespearian Stage". He discerned in the works of the dramatist's latter years a masculine optimism and a magnificently wholesome interpretation of life, and it was in this sense that he expounded Shakespeare's genius to Japanese students.

In 1933 Mr. Honda's *Shakespeare and World Literature* appeared, in Iwanami's "World Literature" series. The author says that Shakespeare is not the type of poet that spins a purely ideal world from his inner consciousness: he is a genius who, seeking his material outside himself, clothes it in flesh and breathes life into it. Tolstoy, however, is wrong in denying that there is any characterisation in Shakespeare: Falstaff, for example, is a triumph of pure creation, and Lady Macbeth was drawn from scanty material in Holinshed. Mr. Honda, tracing the influence of Seneca and Plautus on the Elizabethan stage, explains the form of Shakespeare's romantic drama as the dramatisation of the centrifugal material of old romance by the centripetal method of classical drama. He next traces the history of Shakespearian studies and criticism in various countries, especially Germany and France, and concludes by saying that though there is some truth in the criticism of Voltaire, Tolstoy, and Shaw, Shakespeare is sure to survive it. A time may come when he will be neglected, but the stream of drama of which he is the source will continue to flow in different forms in the world's literature, permeating it more and more deeply.

Mr. Honda's treatise, a pamphlet of only fifty-three pages, evinces both fine scholarship and originality. Tolstoy's opinion that Shakespeare was no friend of the common people seems unreasonable to Mr. Honda, because the poet himself was of the people. He admits that the tone

of the plays is sometimes vulgar, but points out that this has not prevented Shakespeare from expressing what is truly great, and that his age did not fail to appreciate what was truly great in him. He advances a fresh view about the unevenness of finish in Shakespeare's plays : some defects of his earlier plays are usually attributed to the old material he was working on, and the blemishes of his later plays are ascribed to the hands that are supposed to have completed his unfinished work ; but since this is all mere theory, may we not suggest with equal plausibility that Shakespeare, like writers of our own day, sometimes scamped his work when the demands of the stage were pressing, and at other times had leisure to polish his plays to his satisfaction ?

Professor Doi's Shakespeare, which appeared in 1935 as a volume in the Kenkyusha series of English and American literary biographies, is a very helpful and suggestive introduction to more advanced and detailed studies in the poet. Mr. Honda's *Essays on Shakespeare*, collected in a book in 1936, are the fruit of the early labours of an able young scholar who cherishes the hope of writing a Shakespearian study worthy to be remembered as his life's work.

Two more books published in 1936 remain to be mentioned. One is *Shakespeare in the Elizabethan Setting*, by Mr. Hagitani Takehiko, a fine sympathetic study of the colourful background of the English romantic drama ; the other is *Florio's " First Fruites "*, by Professor Arundell del Re, of Taihoku Imperial University. The latter work [13] consists of a facsimile reproduction of the *First Fruites*, with an introduction and notes. Professor del Re, an Italian who studied at Oxford, has unique qualifications for this editorial task. His illuminating introduction and full notes throw much new light on John Florio, whose name will always be associated with Shakespeare's, mainly because of his famous translation of Montaigne.

[13] Vol. III, No. 1, of the Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature and Politics, Taihoku Imperial University, Formosa, Japan.

VII. Shakespeare in Japanese Histories of English Literature.

The first history of English literature written by a Japanese appeared, as we have seen, in 1891. It was published by the Hakubunkan, a firm that did much to introduce various branches of Western culture into Japan. Shibué Tamotsu, the author, wrote other books, including *A History of German and French Literature* and *Inventors of All Nations*, issued by the same firm about that time. As originally written, his history of English literature would have run to more than a thousand pages, but he says in a note at the end that in its published form the book has been hastily condensed, and he is afraid the proportion of pages allotted to certain writers may be rather inadequate. The book has no preface to indicate the sources drawn from, but it seems to owe at least something to Stopford Brooke. There are 264 pages in all, which carry the story of English literature down to Tennyson and include a section of twenty pages on American literature. Shakespeare gets twenty-three pages, seventeen of which outline in small print the stories of eight plays—*Macbeth*, *Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, and *The Merchant of Venice*. In 1893 the book was re-issued as Vol. LVIII of the Hakubunkan Popular Educational Series.

The first edition of Dr. Tsubouchi's history of English literature (an amplification of his Waseda lectures [1]) bore no date; a much-enlarged edition of 904 pages appeared in 1901. The history comes down to the age of Tennyson and Browning. Only fourteen pages are given to Shakespeare, probably because the author, having a seminar class for the study of the Poet, did not wish to go into the details of this

[1] These lectures first appeared in parts in the *Waseda Journal of Lectures*.

special subject in his general lectures. In his book he recommends Hiram Corsom's *Introduction to Shakespeare* and Sidney Lee's *Life* for further biographical facts, and his division of the works into four periods shows the influence of Dowden.

The next history of English literature, which came out in 1907, was the joint work of Kurihara Motoi and Fujisawa Shūji. It was published as Vol. CLX of the Hakubunkan Imperial Encyclopedia. The authors acknowledge their indebtedness to Saintsbury, Gosse, Garnett, Dowden, Brooke, Chambers, Tsubouchi, and the Encyclopedia Britannica, and refer to the lectures[2] of Lafcadio Hearn, which they attended as students at the Imperial University of Tōkyō. They declare these lectures to have been full of useful suggestions, and the influence of a stimulating teacher is visible throughout the book. Of the 314 pages, just over a dozen are devoted to Shakespeare, and Hearn's influence is seen, again, in the arrangement: the section, brief as it is, has an introductory remark on the poet's myriad-mindedness, his superiority to Euripides in broad humanity, and the high esteem in which he was held by Coleridge and Goethe, and then gives details of his life; the works are assigned to four periods in the manner of Dowden; and in conclusion Shakespeare is extolled as an immortal genius whose creative power, ranging far and wide over humanity, penetrated to the unfailing truth of justice and love.

This book by Hearn's able pupils was meant, the preface says, for the general public. Another work on the same subject, published in the same year, was less popular in appeal. The author, Asano Wasaburō, had been preparing to write a history of English literature ever since his student days at Tōkyō Imperial University. His book, published after eight years of study, contains 871 pages on English literature, 117 on American literature, and fifty-one on prosody. Except in this third section, every chapter is

[2] These lectures given in English were published by the Hokuseido in recent years—in 1927 a two-volume edition with a supplement, and in 1930 a revised edition in one volume.

followed by a list of reference-books, and the work in general has a more scholarly look than any other of its kind previously published in Japan. Good use is made of the fourteen pages given to Shakespeare, which end with mention of the gradual deepening of Shakespearian appreciation through Dryden, Johnson, Coleridge, and Hazlitt. The study-list at the end of the chapter is practically the same as that by the same author and already quoted in Chapter IV of the present work. Only the author adds at the end of the list *The Arden Shakespeare*, edited by Craig (Methuen), saying that it is a very good edition, but not yet complete.

In 1911 there appeared a general historical survey of English and American literature by T. Funahashi, now Professor of English Literature in the Dōshisha University, Kyoto, who was then lecturing at the Aoyama Gakuin in Tōkyō. This history, which was privately printed for his pupils, was based on his Tōkyō lectures, which the present writer had the privilege of attending in his student days. The book was intended as a one-year text-book for students coming from middle-grade schools. The author's three aims were: (1) to cultivate the power of literary appreciation in his reader-pupils by initiating them into the rudiments of technique; (2) to make them acquainted with the positions of individual writers in the stream of literature; (3) to pave the way for direct contact with literary works. The book is distinguished by its wealth of adequate quotations from original texts, the happy choice of which is well exemplified in the Shakespeare section. Of the ten pages (in a total of 217) devoted to Shakespeare, one half are filled with quotations from the plays, and the passages are so selected as to afford some notion not only of the poet's verbal colour and music but also of his view of nature and life.

Professor S. Kobinata, of the Hiroshima University of Literature and Science, made a valuable contribution to Japanese scholarship by publishing, between 1923 and 1929, a three-volume history of English literature running to nearly two thousand pages. The author, who attended

Hearn's lectures in Tōkyō, looks back, in the preface to his first volume, and marks the great strides made, during the twenty years and more that have passed since his student days, in the historical study of English literature both in Japan and abroad. In his book Shakespeare occupies twenty-one pages, which are divided as follows: (1) Shakespeare's Life in Brief; (2) The Three Periods of his Works; (3) His Materials and their Sources; (4) The Range of his Works: Comedy, Tragedy, Melodrama; (5) The Moral Leit-motiv running through his Works; (6) A Summary of Criticisms; (7) Tolstoy's Censure; (8) Shakespeare as a Non-dramatic Poet.

Professor Yokoyama's compendious history of English literature was published in 1927. Its 430 pages include bibliographies at the end of every chapter. The book is full of suggestions, and amply achieved its author's purpose —to arouse the reader's interest and encourage him to closer study of writers, or periods, appealing to his private taste. In the Shakespeare section, which occupies eight pages, the author says that unlike Tolstoy, who tried to force his dogmas on the reader, Shakespeare simply suggested the meaning and final issues of life. In Renaissance England, of which it has been said that people then "lived intensely, thought intensely, and wrote intensely", nobody lived, suffered, enjoyed, and expressed, more intensely than Shakespeare. There are two classes of artists, those that produce art and those that live through art; Bashō belonged to the latter group, for he seems to have concentrated more on living through poetry than on making it; and Shakespeare is a superb example of Bashō's type. This may be seen from a careful study of even one play, and conviction will be deepened by reading his works in chronological order.

In the same year there also appeared an historical survey of English literature by Professor Saito, of the Imperial University of Tōkyō. It is based on his lectures at the university, and traces the whole course of English literature from *Beowulf* to *The Dynasts*, with special reference to the spirit of the various ages as measured by the relative

ascendancy of law and freedom—two principles that, in the author's opinion, are the opposing poles of English character. But while the author never loses sight of his theme, regarding the history of literature as being, in Hettner's words, "die Geschichte der Ideen und ihrer wissenschaftlichen and künstlerischen Formen", he carefully avoids insufficiency in the space assigned to individual writers and works. Indeed, for its size the book is even prodigal in giving pages to Shakespeare and other leading figures. This policy was sound, however, as the book was written for students to many of whom the study of Western literature was quite new. The author's wide reading is shown by his inclusion of many writers and works worth notice but not mentioned even in histories of literature by English scholars. The marginal notes are illuminating and suggestive, and the selective bibliography at the end of the book, covering more than eighty pages of fine print, is very carefully compiled.

Shakespeare occupies thirty-one of the closely-printed 500 pages of history proper in this book, and good use is made of the allowance. In the chronological order given to the poet's works the author has, on the whole, followed Lee. He divides them into four periods, like Dowden, but avoids the latter's romantic idolatry: he recognises Shakespeare's greatness, which may be compared to the sun or Nature itself; but he is not blind to defects: the sun has its spots, and Nature its dead sprays. Shakespeare wrote for the playhouse he was attached to, and had the groundlings in mind: hence a certain carelessness and inconsistency are seen in some plots and developments of action, some scenes are melodramatic, and the language is often coarse. Nor was the poet entirely above the contemporary fashion for "conceits". He seems, again, to have been averse from definite principles, and to have thought single-mindedness absurd in any form.

After pointing out these defects, however, Professor Saito goes on to enumerate those qualities that constitute the poet's undeniable greatness. (1) With wonderful receptivity Shakespeare drew freely and boldly on life, nature,

and books old and new of many countries; and not only did he possess, as Dryden said, "a universal mind, which comprehended all characters and passions", but also his delineation of these was sure and subtle. (2) With this broad range of vision, he was impartial and healthy in his view of life and morals. (3) His language, the medium of his broad philosophy, was extremely pregnant and suggestive, and the flexibility of his genius made him triumphant alike in tragedy and in comedy. (4) He had genuine skill in play-construction.—In short, Shakespeare, the creator of such complete characters as Hamlet, Falstaff, and Iago, of Juliet, Cleopatra, and Miranda, of Othello and Lear, of Puck, Ariel, and Caliban; Shakespeare, who upholds moral order in his four great tragedies, and whose works are full of the spirit of love for God, man, and nature, seems in his expression of the infinite variety of human passion, in language of unfailing aptness, to show the utmost limit attainable by human powers.

A history of early English literature by Professor Taketomo, of the Kansei Gakuin University, was published in 1936, after many years of thoughtful preparation. It covers the period 670—1660, *i.e.*, from Caedmon to Milton. The preface describes the book as a kind of atlas or guide-book for young students. The author stands with them on a hill overlooking the wide realm of English literature: on the horizon rises the peak of *Beowulf*; the river slowly winding through fields of daisies is *The Canterbury Tales*; a large forest somewhat nearer is *The Faerie Queene*. In the ocean of Shakespeare there are many islands, each a world of its own. Milton is a cloud-capped summit. To emphasise that literature is a panorama, the "guide-book" is not divided into chapters, but some headings are given for convenience.

Professor Taketomo possesses high culture and a fine literary style. His treatment of Shakespeare, in thirty-two pages, is very interesting and suggestive, even for readers much more advanced than those for whom the book is primarily intended. Most of the space is devoted to a profound analysis of the poet's works, which is at the same time a convincing interpretation of the poet himself. Pro-

fessor Takemoto finds in Falstaff the most typical example of that expression of the "sympathetic", the imaginative, and the real, to which the term "Shakespearian" may be applied. He agrees with Bradley that Othello "is dramatically the most perfect of the tragedies". As to Lady Macbeth, he thinks Dr. Bucknill, M.D., was probably right in his picture of her as "a lady, beautiful and delicate, . . . instinct with nervous energy, unoppressed by weight of flesh. Probably . . . the small sort of woman, whose emotional fire is the most fierce"; and he imagines her as being, at ordinary times, as cheerful as a bird. In his opinion the one heroine in the world's literature fit to be compared with Shakespeare's Cleopatra is Homer's Helen. In Cleopatra he sees Egypt, the East, contrasted with Rome, the West. Her charm is that of *das Weibliche* itself, and once in the flames of that furnace the iron heart of warrior Antony is soft as butter, beyond rescue by millions of soldiers.

Professor Taketomo, who thinks that the happy ending is not a happy criterion for distinguishing comedy from tragedy, and holds that the ground of difference must be sought deeper, in the contents and spirit of the plays, calls the three plays of the fourth period "reconciliation comedies" in the sense that they are comedies developing from tragic situations, and contrasts them with what he calls the "problem comedies" (*Troilus, All's Well, Measure for Measure*), which show transition from comedy to tragedy.

VIII. Shakespeare on the Stage.

This final chapter surveys the history of the presentation of Shakespeare's plays on the Japanese stage. The history falls naturally into three periods. If we disregard the moot question of Shakepearian influence in a play, mentioned earlier, performed in Yedo in 1810, the first period begins with the performance of *The Merchant of Venice* in 1885 and ends with the organisation of the Literary Association in 1906. The second period covers the last few years of the Meiji era and the best part of Taishō, down to the Great Earthquake of 1923. The third is the period of fifteen years from 1924 to the present time.

The First Period.

During this period most of the foreign plays, Shakespeare's and others, that were presented on the Japanese stage were either adapted or freely altered, as some Shakespearian plays were, even in England, at the time of Betterton and D'Avenant. This was all the more natural in Japan, because the Kabuki tradition was all in all to the Japanese theatre of those days, and foreign characters played by Kabuki actors, with strange make-up and an unpractised style of acting, would have looked ridiculous. Hence when, in 1885, *The Merchant of Venice* was first performed at the Yebisu Theatre in Osaka, it was in a thoroughly Japanised version with the title *All for Money*. Udagawa Bunkai adapted this play (and *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet*). Certain themes in the original, such as the choice of three caskets and the forfeit of a pound of flesh, are cleverly taken over, with some modifications; but the version as a whole, when closely examined, is seen to be quite alien to Shakespeare.

After 1892 or thereabouts, British and American travelling companies performed some of Shakespeare's plays in

Yokohama, and thus no doubt gave some idea of foreign acting to those Japanese, such as Dr. Tsubouchi, that were earnestly interested in the art of the theatre.

The Merchant of Venice was played by a Kabuki troupe. Sixteen years later, in 1901, part of *Julius Cæsar*, based on Tsubouchi's version, was performed in Tōkyō by Shimpa players (the pseudo-classical school then flourishing). The immediate motive for presenting this play seems to have been (but not with the translator's complicity) more topic-mongering than artistic: not a month before, Hoshi Tōru, a political "boss", had been assassinated in the City Hall of Tōkyō, and the producer of the play apparently took advantage of the sensation caused by this incident. In 1902 an adaptation of *King Lear*, by Takayasu Gekkō, was performed in Kyoto and Kobe[1]; the title, *Darkness and Light*, was suggested, Takayasu says, by Dowden's *Shakespeare*.

In 1903 *Othello* was produced, in Tōkyō, by Kawakami Otojirō, showman, shimpa actor, and husband of Sada Yacco, one of the earliest actresses[2] in Japan; she is discussed by Gordon Craig in *The Theatre Advancing*. Kawakami's company had recently come back from its second foreign tour. The play was declared to be an exact reproduction of the original; in reality, however, it too was an adaptation, the scenes being laid in Tōkyō or Formosa as the equivalents of Venice and Cyprus. The names of the characters were also adapted, as the following list shows—

Muro Washirō, Governor-General of Formosa, of plebeian birth	Othello, the Moor.
Count Fura Banjō, Minister of Finance	Brabantio.
Major Katsu Yoshio	Cassio.
Lieutenant Iya Gōzō	Iago.
Rotori Kō, Bank-president	Roderigo.
Tomone	Desdemona.
Omiya	Emilia.
Biwaka, a Geisha-girl	Bianca.

[1] In the following year the play was revived in Osaka, Yokohama, and Tōkyō.

[2] In the Kabuki theatre women's parts are played by men.

The play was redivided into six acts and eleven scenes :—

Act I, Scene 1. The Inner Garden of Fura-Banjō's Residence.
Scene 2. A Street near Surugadai, Tokyo.
Act II, Scene 1. Council Chamber of the Prime Minister's Official Residence.
Act III, Scene 1. Quay of a Seaport in Formosa.
Scene 2. An Evening Party at the Governor's Residence.
Act IV, Scene 1. The Inner Garden of the Governor's Residence.
Scene 2. Another Part of the Same.
Act V, Scene 1. Reception Room of the Governor's Residence.
Scene 2. A Bedchamber.
Act VI, Scene 1. A Street outside the City Wall.
Scene 2. A Bedchamber.

Celebrated scenes and passages, such as Othello's eloquent pleading, the handkerchief intrigue, Desdemona's willow-song, the tragic climax in the bedchamber, were all ingeniously naturalized; but the end of the play was quite altered : before the final curtain, Iago was killed by a volley fired by Cassio's men. This alteration was quite reasonable : a Japanese audience of those days expected a play to have a definite moral purpose, and would not have tolerated a disregard of obvious poetical justice.

By the end of 1906, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Lear*, and *Henry IV* had been presented, with more or less of the same kind of treatment, by various companies in Tōkyō, Kyoto, Osaka, and other important cities; and some of these plays were revived several times. Kawakami and his company also presented, in rapid succession, *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, and their provincial tours did much to popularise Shakespeare in Japan.

The Second Period.

The second period began with the founding of the Literary Association (Bungei Kyōkai) in 1906. After its reorganisation in the following year, the members devoted

themselves to the new dramatic movement, with Dr. Tsubouchi as their leader. A research department was set up, modern theatrical practice was studied with keen interest, and actors and actresses were trained in a style divorced from the old tradition. Towards the end of 1906 the trial-scene of *The Merchant of Venice* had been privately performed, unchanged, by way of experiment; the next year *Hamlet*, in three acts, was presented to the general public. Both productions were twice revived a few years later. The 1911 revival of *Hamlet*, in particular, marked an important stage in the development of the new theatre in Japan: the play was produced in its entirety, and, adaptations excepted, was the first complete presentation of a Shakespearian play on the Japanese stage. Dohi's *Hamlet* is said to have been superb. Unfortunately, the Literary Association was broken up in 1913; *Julius Cæsar* was its final performance. Whatever the reasons may have been for dissolving the Association, it is clear that there were at least two outside forces assailing it, as it were, on either flank: the old Kabuki theatre was vigorously holding its own, and a radical tendency had set in. The collaboration of Osanai Kaoru, the Gordon Craig of the East, and Sadanji, a noted Kabuki actor of enterprising spirit, resulted in the founding of the Théâtre Libre (Jiyū Gekijō), which created a tremendous sensation among the young intellectuals by presenting such new plays as Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman*, Hauptmann's *Lonely Lives*, and Gorki's *Lower Depths*.

The Literary Association, the dissolution of which marked the end of the first half of the second period, split up into three companies: the Art Theatre, the Club without a Name, and the Stage Society.[3] All three included in their productions several plays of Shakespeare's, but for the carrying on of the Shakespearian tradition in Japan the Club without a Name was the most important. It was organised by veterans of the disbanded Association, and presented with success *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and other plays; but for want of initiative it was unable to keep abreast of the

[3] Geijutsu Za, Mumei Kai, Butai Kyōkai.

times, and the death of some central personages resulted in its dissolution towards the middle of the Taishō era. Several performances by its members, such as the Hamlet of Dohi Shunsho, mentioned above, and Tōgi Tetteki's Shylock and Polonius, have a permanent place in the history of the Shakespearian stage in Japan.

Besides the three companies named, the Modern Dramatic Society and the Literary Theatre[4] helped to promote the Shakespearian vogue in Japan by producing several of the poet's plays. These societies too were connected in their origin with the Tsubouchi cult; for Kamiyama Sōjin, the actor-producer of the Modern Dramatic Society (and later a famous film-actor at Hollywood), served a period of apprenticeship with the Literary Association; and Hayashi Yasushi, who, with Morita Kanya, founded the Literary Theatre, was once a disciple of Dr. Tsubouchi's. Thus, in spite of the retirement of the great leader from actual coaching, much of the seed sown by him fell on fruitful soil; and the prospects of the Shakespearian stage in Japan appeared encouraging, when, in 1923, the Great Earthquake retaught the old lesson of the vanity of human hopes.

The Third Period.

Yet even in the midst of chaos the spirit of reconstruction was astir. When, however, New Tōkyō rose like a phœnix from the ashes, its theatrical world believed, mistakenly, that Shakespeare's day was over; and not only he, but also Ibsen, Hauptmann, and Strindberg, with other dramatists of the Nineties, had to yield place to such rising luminaries as Kaiser, Toller, and Pirandello. Furthermore, when *Othello* and *Julius Cæsar* were, nevertheless, performed, it was by typically conservative Kabuki actors and along with the most antiquated of Kabuki plays. The Tsukiji Little Theatre,[5] however, which has been a leading

[4] Kindai-geki Kyōkai and Bungei Za.

[5] Tsukiji Shō Gekijō. The troupe of this theatre has changed since, but the new company preserves the name of Tsukiji company.

influence in the new-theatre movement since the earthquake, has contributed a great deal to the revival of Shakespeare on the Japanese stage; for though its chief energies have been directed to producing works by other authors, it has presented many of his plays too; not according to the old Shakespearian tradition in Japan, but with a sincere wish to establish a new style of producing old plays. The company's performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, to celebrate the completion of Dr. Tsubouchi's great translation in 1928, was particularly successful. The play was produced in collaboration with the New Symphonic Society, and Mendelssohn's music was admirably combined with Shakespeare's romantic fancy. Since the inauguration of the Shakespeare Society of Japan, in 1930, with Dr. Ichīkawa as President, the Tsukiji company has annually performed some of the poet's plays, with conspicuous success. A memorable production was *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. In the spring of 1936 a committee had been specially formed, consisting of the members of the company's literary section and of specialists in English literature; and as a result of more than six months' study the play was presented in a new version made by them in collaboration.

Besides the Tsukiji Theatre there was also the Globe Company,[6] a kind of Japanese Old Vic, if we may so describe an organisation that lasted only a few years and was never very influential; but it had the distinction of promptly introducing into Japan the modern-dress style of production associated with the name of Barry Jackson.

Another dramatic association that must be mentioned here is the Tōkyō Amateur Dramatic Club, founded in 1896 by lovers of the theatre among the foreign residents. Several of Shakespeare's plays have been performed, the most recent being *As You Like It*, presented in November, 1936. Mr. H. Ashley Clarke was the producer; the players, headed by Mr. A. W. Medley, were assisted by several Japanese from Waseda.

Other amateur performances of Shakespeare's plays have been got up by various colleges in Tōkyō that annually

[6] Chikyū Za.

present a dramatic entertainment, public or private. For example, the Japan Women's University, the English-literature Department of which has a well-established custom of this kind, in recent years has given public performances of Shakespearian plays. In March of this eventful year (1938) the Department produced *Twelfth Night* in the Hall of the Military Club in Tōkyō. The present writer had the opportunity of witnessing the performance, which was a rare success in every respect. Among the excellent renderings of the male and female characters by an all-female cast, that of Sir Toby deserves special mention for its wonderful expressiveness.

In the half-century and more since Shakespeare was first consciously introduced into Japan, all his plays, except for a few very unpopular ones, have been presented at least once on the Japanese stage; and such favourites as *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello* have each reached a total of a hundred performances. Some enthusiasts have even gone abroad to study methods of Shakespearian production, and, coming back with fresh ideas and increased fervour, have sought to naturalize the latest foreign theories and practice. In theatrical matters Japan may therefore claim to have kept well abreast of the times; and, as we have said, just before the Great Earthquake the prospects of Shakespearian drama on the Japanese stage seemed promising. Still, even had the earthquake not occurred, there would have been a good many difficulties to overcome before Shakespeare won full appreciation on this side of the world. Furthermore, in spite of the encouraging popularity that he once began to enjoy in the Japanese theatre, it is doubtful how far he has contributed to the enrichment of the national culture in general. Not only the public at large, but also men of letters, seem to have been influenced by him but little; even Dr. Tsubouchi, notwithstanding his lifelong labours in introducing Shakespeare into Japan, did not play the rôle here that Voltaire did in France or Lessing in Germany. We can hardly point to any striking sign of Shakespearian inspiration in the creative literature of the Meiji era and later; for though Dr. Tsubouchi, as far back

as the thirties of Meiji, wrote a number of plays in which some beneficial Shakespearian influence is discernible, even he soon emancipated himself entirely. His zeal in translating Shakespeare never flagged, but in his later works there is scarcely any trace of resemblance to the dramatist whose genius he revered.

For this superficial, or at least limited, influence of Shakespeare in Japan up to the present, three reasons may be advanced. First, for writers that have not made a special study of English, and still more for the general public, there are formidable linguistic barriers to be scaled; secondly, Elizabethan manners and customs, obsolete in England itself, are quite alien to Japanese taste; thirdly, there is a great disparity between Western and Japanese ways of thinking. These difficulties, however, need not discourage us: Japanese scholars have proved their ability in the study of Shakespeare's tongue and times; and differences in mode of thought and in racial temperament are not insurmountable, for, as many critics, Western or Japanese, have recognised, the genius of the universal Poet not only transcends all local or temporal divergencies of manners and customs, but also unites different temperaments in sympathetic understanding through the tie of an all-embracing humanity. Again, it is generally admitted that Japanese Kabuki bears many resemblances to Elizabethan drama, as, for instance, in its disregard of the three unities; hence the Japanese theatre is by no means a hopeless ground for the healthy development of Shakespearian drama. It is true that the earthquake was a serious blow; but the forces of recovery were greater than those of destruction. The present China Affair, of course, is acting as a check on frivolity, but Shakespeare is unaffected by the graver atmosphere: we have seen that in March of this year, in the middle of the national emergency, one of his comedies was publicly performed in Tōkyō with great success by a group of amateurs. The Japanese are proud as a nation that in the long run they have never failed to appreciate everything truly great and good, from wherever it may have come, and the true greatness of the world's poet has already found

understanding recognition among our foremost critics of life and letters: this is a gratifying step towards the appreciation of Shakespeare by the people in general, to whose unsophisticated hearts he cannot but appeal, for he knows them and is their friend.

The showing of Shakespearian plays in Japanese cinemas seems to have begun about 1910. Since then the new art has rapidly gained upon the theatre, and in these days of talkies its influence cannot be belittled; but the old art of the theatre will live on, and there will always be those who wish to see Shakespeare's plays performed on the stage for which they were written. In future, however, will his plays be more read than watched? and will the usual medium for presenting such plays as are still acted be the screen rather than the stage? In present-day Japan Shakespeare's plays are more widely read and studied than they are seen in either theatre or cinema; and no Shakespearian film has as yet been made by a Japanese company. To judge from tendencies in recent years, Shakespearian study in Japan may confidently be expected to become more extensive and thorough, by the combined efforts of a few devoted philologists, of earnest lovers of real literature, and of discerning and courageous artists of the theatre.

APPENDIX.

A Japanese Shakespeare Bibliography.

Exhaustiveness has not been aimed at in this bibliography, which covers only the more important part of the Shakespearian literature discussed in the foregoing pages; it contains, however, some of the later literature not mentioned in them. The following principles have been observed :—

1. Partial translations of Shakespeare's plays have been omitted, except those in book form that contain at least one complete scene. The same principle applies to notes and selections.

2. As a rule magazines have been excluded, but in the sections of biographies and bibliographies they have been included.

I.—Translations.

1. In a series :—

(*a*) Shakespeare's Complete Works. Ten plays only, each published in a separate volume. Tōkyō, Dainippon Tosho Kabushiki Kaisha, 1905–09. *Hamlet*, by Tozawa Koya (or Masayasu), 1905. *Romeo and Juliet*, by Tozawa Koya, 1905. *The Merchant of Venice*, by Asano Hyokyo (or Wasaburō), 1906. *Othello*, by Tozawa Koya, 1906. *King Lear*, by Tozawa Koya, 1906. *Much Ado About Nothing* ("Karasawagi"), by Tozawa Koya, 1907. *Julius Cæsar*, by Tozawa Koya, 1907. *As You Like It* ("Gyoi no Mama"), by Asano Hyôkyo, 1908. *The Comedy of Errors* ("Yukichigai Monogatari"), by Tozawa Koya, 1908. *Twelfth Night* ("Jūni Ya"), by Tozawa Koya, 1909.

(*b*) *Shakespeare's Masterpieces*, which developed into Shakespeare's *Complete Works* in thirty-nine volumes, by Tsubouchi Shōyō (or Yūzō). Tōkyō: Waseda University Press, between 1909 and 1928. *Hamlet*, 1909 (reprinted in Vol. 3 of the Literature of the Meiji and Taishō Eras series, 明治大正文學全集, Shunyōdō, 1928). *Romeo and Juliet*, 1910. *Othello*, 1911. *King Lear*, 1912. *Julius*

Cæsar, 1913. *The Merchant of Venice*, 1914. *The Tempest*, 1915 (reprinted in Vol. 4 of *Shōyō's Select Works*, Shōyō Senshū Kankōkai, 1926). *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1915 (reprinted in Vol. 5 of *Shōyō's Select Works*, Shōyō Senshū Kankōkai, 1927). *A Midsummer Night's Dream* ("Manatsu no Yo no Yume"), 1915 (reprinted in Vol. 4 of *Shōyō's Select Works*, Shōyō Senshū Kankōkai, 1926). *Macbeth*, containing as a supplement "A Historical Sketch of the Study, Translation, Adaptation, and Staging of Shakespeare in Japan", by the translator, 1916 (reprinted in Vol. 5 of *Shōyō's Select Works*, Shōyō Senshū Kankōkai, 1927, and included in Shun'yōdō's Library of the World's Literary Masterpieces (世界名作文庫), 1932). *Measure for Measure* ("Iseki Hōseki"), 1918 (reprinted in Vol. 5 of *Shōyō's Select Works*, Shōyō Senshū Kankōkai, 1927). *A Winter's Tale* ("Fuyu no Yobanashi"), 1918. *Richard III*, 1918. *Henry IV, Pt. I*, 1919 (reprinted in Vol. 4 of *Shōyō's Select Works*, Shōyō Senshū Kankōkai, 1926). *Henry IV*, Pt. II, 1919 (reprinted in Vol. 4 of *Shōyō's Select Works*, Shōyō Senshū Kankōkai, 1926). *As You Like It* ("Oki ni Mesu Mama"), 1920. *The Taming of the Shrew* ("Jaja-uma Narashi"), 1920 (reprinted in Vol. 4 of *Shōyō's Select Works*, Shōyō's Senshū Kankōkai, 1926). *Twelfth Night* ("Jūni Ya"), 1921. *Coriolanus*, 1922. *Cymbeline*, 1923. *Love's Labour's Lost* ("Koi no Honeorizon"), 1926. *Richard III*, 1926. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* ("Winzoa no Yōkina Nyōbō"), 1926. *The Comedy of Errors* ("Machigai Tsuzuki"), 1926 (included in Shun'yōdō's Library of the World's Literary Masterpieces, 1932). *Titus Andronicus*, 1926. *Timon of Athens*, 1926. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* ("Verōna no Ni Shinshi"), 1926. *Much Ado About Nothing* ("Karasawagi"), 1927 (included in Shun'yōdō's Library of the World's Literary Masterpieces, 1932). *Troilus and Cressida*, 1927. *Henry V*, 1927. *All's Well that Ends Well* ("Sue Yokereba Subete Yoshi"), 1927. *King John*, 1927. *Pericles*, 1927. *Poems, 1st Series*, containing *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, 1927. *Henry VIII*, 1928. *Henry VI, Pt. I*, 1928.

Henry VI, Pt. II, 1928. *Henry VI, Pt. III*, 1928. *Poems, 2nd Series*, containing *Sonnets*, 1928.

(c) *Shakespeare's Complete Works, Newly Revised*, in thirty-nine volumes, by Tsubouchi Shōyō. Tōkyō: The Chūō Kōron Sha, 1933–35.
Hamlet, 1933. *Measure for Measure*, ("Iseki Hōseki"), 1933. *Twelfth Night* ("Jūni Ya"), 1933. *Romeo and Juliet*, 1933. *The Merchant of Venice*, 1933. *Titus Andronicus*, 1933. *King John*, 1934. *Pericles*, 1934. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* ("Verōna no Ni Shinshi"), 1934. *Richard II*, 1934. *Julius Cæsar*, 1934. *Poems, 1st Series*, containing *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, 1934. *Henry IV (1)*, 1934. *Henry IV (2)*, 1934. *Timon of Athens*, 1934. *The Taming of the Shrew* ("Jaja-uma Narashi"), 1934. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* ("Winzā no Yōkina Nyōbō"), 1934. *Henry V*, 1934. *Henry VI (1)*, 1934. *Henry VI (2)*, 1934. *A Winter's Tale* ("Fuyu no Yobanashi"), 1934. *Henry VI (3)*, 1934. *Coriolanus*, 1934. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* ("Manatsu no Yo no Yume"), 1934. *Richard III*, 1934. *Troilus and Cressida*, 1934. *King Lear*, 1934. *As You Like It* ("Oki ni Mesu Mama"), 1934. *Poems, 2nd Series*, containing *Sonnets*, 1934. *The Tempest* ("Gufū"), 1934. *All's Well that Ends Well* ("Sué Yokereba Subete Yoshi"), 1935. *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1935. *Macbeth*, 1935. *Much Ado About Nothing* ("Mudasawagi"), 1935. *Love's Labour's Lost* ("Koi no Honeorizon"), 1935. *Henry VIII*, 1935. *Othello*, 1935. *Cymbeline*, 1935. *The Comedy of Errors* ("Machigai Tsuzuki"), 1935.

2. Separate Works and Selections :—

The Sword of Liberty Shows its Keen Edge Once for All (自由太刀餘波鋭鋒), *i.e.*, *Julius Cæsar*, by Tsubouchi Yūzō. Tōyōkan, 1884. Reprinted in Vol. 14 of the Culture of the Meiji Era series (明治文化全集), compiled by Yoshino Sakuzō, The Nippon Hyōronsha, 1927.

Love's Young Dream in this Fleeting World (春情浮世之夢), *i.e.*, *Romeo and Juliet*, by Kawashima Keizō. Kōbunsha, 1886. Reprinted in Vol. 14 of the Culture of the Meiji Era series mentioned above.

A *Mirror of Roman Vicissitudes* (羅馬盛衰鑑), *i.e.*, *Julius Cæsar*, by Tenkō Isshi (Komiyayama Keisuke) and Ōrin Bunjin (Kawashima Keizō). Shinshindō, 1886.

The Mirror of a Hero's Life (豪傑一世鏡), *i.e.*, *Coriolanus*, by Itakura Kōtarō. Seibundō, 1888.

Flowers in a Mirror and the Moon in the Water (鏡花水月), *i.e.*, *The Comedy of Errors*, by Watanabe Osamu. Shūseisha, 1888.

Summer Grass (夏草), *i.e.*, *Venus and Adonis*, by Shimazaki Tōson. First published in the *Bungakukai* (The Realm of Belles Lettres), No. 38 (February, 1896). Reprinted in Vol. 2 of the Library of the Masters (名家文庫), compiled by Takamatsu Masamichi, Daigakkan, 1899.

The Trial Scene from *The Merchant of Venice*, by Dohi Shunsho. Hattori Shoten, 1903. Reprinted in the same author's *Kaburagi Hideko*. Shunyōdō, 1910.

A Prince's Miraculous Revenge, *i.e.*, *Hamlet*, by Toyama Masakazu (or Chūzan). Contained in Vol. 2 of *Chūzan's Posthumous Works*, compiled by Toyama Shinsaku. Maruzen Company, 1909.

The Trial Scene from *The Merchant of Venice*, by Tsubouchi Yūzō. Contained in his *Works and Criticism*. Waseda University Press, 1909. Reprinted in Book 1 of *Reading-books for Appreciation of Foreign Dramatic Masterpieces* (海外名作戲曲鑑賞讀本), compiled by Osanai Kaoru and Kitamura Kihachi. Shinshidansha, 1826.

Macbeth, by Mori Ōgai. Keiseisha Shoten, 1913. Reprinted in Vol. 11 of *Ōgai's Complete Works*, Ōgai Zenshū Kankōkai, 1925.

Romeo and Juliet, by Kume Masao. No. 26 of The Shinchō Library (新潮文庫). Shinchōsha, 1915. Reprinted in Vol. 1 of Shinchōsha's Select Western Plays series (泰西戲曲選集), 1922, and included in *Unabridged Translations of Shakespeare's Select Masterpieces* mentioned below.

Hamlet, by Kume Masao. No. 38 of The Shinchō Library. Shinchōsha, 1915. Reprinted in Vol. 4 of Shinchōsha's Select Western Plays series, 1922,

and included in *Unabridged Translations of Shakespeare's Select Masterpieces* mentioned below.

Unabridged Translations of Shakespeare's Select Masterpieces (全譯沙翁名作選), containing the preceding two plays and *Othello*, by Kume Masao. Shinchōsha, 1916. *Othello* was reprinted in Vol. 12 of Shinchōsha's Select Western Plays series, 1925.

Terrestrial Light (地上の光), containing *Antony and Cleopatra*, compiled by Futamura Kazuo. Taimai Seibundō, 1923.

Othello, by Osanai Kaoru, Vol. 1 of *Shakespeare's Complete Works* (シエクスピア全集). Shūhōkaku, 1925. Reprinted in Vol. 5 of The Classical Drama series (古典劇大系), compiled by Yoshizawa Kōzaburō. Kindaisha, 1927.

The Merchant of Venice, by Osanai Kaoru. Vol. 2 of *Shakespeare's Complete Works*. Shūhōkaku, 1926. The Trial Scene was reprinted in Book 1 of *Reading-books for Appreciation of Foreign Dramatic Masterpieces*, compiled by Osanai Kaoru and Kitamura Kihachi. Shinshidansha, 1926. The complete play was reprinted in Vol. 5 of The Classical Drama series, compiled by Yoshizawa Kōzaburō. Kindaisha, 1927.

Troilus and Cressida, by Kimura Sōta. Contained in Vol. 5 of The World's Women Library (世界婦人文献). Sekai Bunken Kankōkai, 1926.

Hamlet, *Othello*, and *The Merchant of Venice*, by Takahara Nobuo. Contained in Vol. 4 of Representative Works of the World's Great Writers (世界文豪代表作全集). Sekai Bungō Daihyōsaku Zenshū Kankōkai, 1927.

A Midsummer Night's Dream, by Hogiyama Shigeru, and *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*, by Osanai Kaoru (previously mentioned). Contained in Vol. 5 of The Classical Drama series, compiled by Yoshizawa Kōzaburō. Kindaisha, 1927.

A Midsummer Night's Dream, by Yanagida Izumi. Contained in Vol. 22 of The World Fairy-Tales series (世界童話大系), compiled by Yoshizawa Kōzaburō. Kindaisha, 1928.

Shakespeare's Select Plays (シエクスピア集), containing *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, by Satō Hiroshi. Vol. 9 of The World Literature Library (世界文學叢書). The Chūō Shuppansha, 1928.

The Trial Scene from *The Merchant of Venice*. Contained in *Juvenile Plays* (兒童劇脚本), a dramatisation of the text-book used in elementary-school advanced courses, compiled by Miyagawa Kikumatsu and Miura Seisaku. Kōseikaku, 1928.

Plays of Shakespeare, containing *Hamlet*, *Julius Cæsar*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Macbeth*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Romeo and Juliet*, by Yokoyama Yūsaku. Shinchōsha, 1929. *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Julius Cæsar* were included later in The Shinchō Library, 1933.

Plays of Shakespeare, containing *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*, by Osanai Kaoru, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hamlet*, by Satō Tokuji, *Macbeth* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, by Izumi Takeshi, and *Romeo and Juliet*, by Kitamura Kihachi, with a short life of Shakespeare and commentaries on the plays translated. Vol. 3 of The World Drama series (世界戲曲全集). Sekai Gikyoku Zenshū Kankōkai, 1929.

Romeo and Juliet, by Honda Kenshō. Koyama Shoten, 1933.

Hamlet, by Honda Kenshō. Koyama Shoten, 1933.

Hamlet, A New Translation, by Uraguchi Bunji. Sanseidō, 1934.

Macbeth, by Nogami Toyoichirō. Iwanami Shoten, 1938.

II.—Notes and Annotated Translations (including some reprints).

1. In a series :—

(*a*) The Kenkyūsha English Classics series (研究社英文學叢書). Of the one hundred and seventeen volumes (in the republished series), twelve are given to Shakespeare's works, with full notes. Kenkyūsha, between 1921 and 1928. (All are translated by Ichikawa Sanki, unless otherwise stated.)

King Lear, 1921. *Hamlet*, 1922. *Julius Cæsar* and *The Tempest*, 1922. *Antony and Cleopatra*, 1923. *Macbeth*, 1925. *Othello*, 1925. *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and *Sonnets*, by Okakura Yoshisaburō, 1928. *The Merchant of Venice*, 1928. *As You Like It*, 1928. *King Henry IV*, *Pts. I and II*, 1929. *Romeo and Juliet*, 1929. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1931.

(*b*) *Annotated Translations of Shakespeare's Plays* (*with parallel text*) (對譯傍註シエクスピア叢書), by Sawamura Torajirō. Kenkyūsha.
The Merchant of Venice, 1933. *Julius Cæsar*, 1933. *Macbeth*, 1934. *Hamlet*, 1935. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1937.

2. Separate Plays and Selections :—
The Merchant of Venice, with notes in English, by W. G. Clarke. The Faculty of Literature, Tōkyō Daigaku, 1878.
Swinton's *Studies in English Literature* (in English), by Kamei Chūichi. Sanseidō, 1889. The *Funeral of Julius Cæsar* in the *Studies* was later reprinted in *A Guide-book of English Literature* (英文學餘師), by Shigaraki Kinkichi. Keigyōsha, 1898.
The Trial Scene from "The Merchant of Venice" (人肉質入裁判法廷之場講義錄), a correspondence course, annotated and translated by Isobe Yaichirō. Kokumin Eigakkai Bungakkai, 1891. Reprinted by Sanseidō, 1892.
An Explanation of "Julius Cæsar" (じゆりあすしーざる講義), an annotated translation, by Ōkura Motozumi. Kaishindō, 1892.
Macbeth, with notes in English. Yoshioka Shosekiten, 1892.
The Merchant of Venice, with K. Deighton's notes in English. Okazakiya Shoten, 1893.
A Winter's Tale, with K. Deighton's notes in English. Fuzambo, 1896.
"Macbeth" and the Historical Macbeth (in English). Okazaki Shoten, 1898.
Hamlet, with K. Deighton's notes in English. Kyōeki Shōsha, 1900.
An Explanation of Passages of English Poetry and Prose (英詩文評釋), containing a translation of *Hamlet* (to Act, I, Sc. iv), and an annotated translation of *Macbeth* (to Act II), by Tsubouchi Yūzō (Shōyō). Tōkyō Semmon Gakkō Press, 1902. (The translation of *Hamlet* first appeared in the *Chūō Gakujutsu Zasshi, i.e., Central Magazine of Science and Art*, in 1885, and the annotated translation of *Macbeth* in the *Waseda Bungaku, i.e., Waseda Journal of Literature*, in 1891. Both were reprinted in *Shōyō's Select Works* (逍遙選集), 1927.

A Correspondence Course in English Literature (英文學講義錄), containing an annotated translation of the Funeral Scene from *Julius Cæsar* and the Trial Scene from *The Merchant of Venice* in Swinton's *Studies in English Literature*, by Isobe Yaichirō. The Kokumin Eigakkai Press, 1903.

Julius Cæsar, with K. Deighton's notes in English. Kaishindō, 1903.

The Tragedy of Othello, an annotated translation by Sugano Tokusuke. Genkōsha, 1909. Reprinted by Yūhōdō, 1928.

Julius Cæsar, Schlegel's translation, edited by Mizutani Yumihiko. Seikashoin, 1910.

Swinton's *Studies in English Literature*, translated and annotated by Okamura Aizō. Kōbunsha, 1911.

A Winter's Tale (in English). The Imperial Theatre, 1916.

Macbeth, with notes in English by Lombard. Hakubunkan, 1916.

The Merchant of Venice, annotated in English by Ichikawa Sanki. Kenkyūsha, 1917.

King Lear, with notes in English by Lombard. Hakubunkan, 1917.

Macbeth, annotated in English by Ichikawa Sanki. Kenkyūsha, 1918.

The Merchant of Venice, with notes in English by Lombard. Hakubunkan, 1920.

Othello (in English), by Isobe Yaichirō. The Kokumin Eigakkai Press, 1921.

Julius Cæsar, annotated by Ichikawa Sanki. Kenkyūsha, 1925.

Sōseki's "Othello", i.e., Othello annotated and criticised by Natsume Sōseki. Compiled by Nogami Toyoichirō. Tettō Shoin, 1930.

Julius Cæsar, with Exhaustive Notes, by Tsuzuki Tōsaku. Kenkyūsha, 1931.

Hamlet, with Exhaustive Notes, by Tsuzuki Tōsaku, with an Introduction by Okakura Yoshisaburō. Kenkyūsha, 1932.

"Hamlet", as Seen by the Elizabethan Audience, by Uraguchi Bunji. Sanseidō, 1932.

Julius Cæsar, edited with notes by Hosoé Itsuki. Taibundō, 1935.

Macbeth, edited with notes by Hosoé Itsuki, Taibundō, 1937.

The Merchant of Venice, edited with notes by Hosoé Itsuki. Taibundō, 1938.

III.—Adaptations (either Japanised or freely changed).

All for Money (銭の世の中), *i.e.*, *The Merchant of Venice*, by Udagawa Bunkai. Hōbundō, 1885. An outline of this adaptation by Katsu Genzō was published by Niizane Hachirobei, 1896.

As You Like it, by Udagawa Bunkai. Shinshindō, 1888.

As Like as Two Seed-leaves (二葉草), *i.e.*, The Comedy of Errors, by Sairo'en Ryūkō. Published by Inoué Katsugorō, 1889.

Hamlet, by Dohi Shunsho and Yamagishi Kayō. Fuzambō, 1903. N.B.—*Hamlet* by Yamagishi Kayō was published by Shun'yōdō in 1907.

Terumaro, a Japanese version of *Hamlet*, adapted by Dohi Shunsho and Yamagishi Kayō from J. Umezawa's translation. Only three copies, printed by Essie E. Wood at the *Japan Herald* Office, Yokohama, 1905.

Timon of Athens, by Kojima Koshū. Tanabe Shoten, 1911. Reprinted by Isobe Kyōdō, 1914. *Antony and Cleopatra*, by Shimamura Hōgetsu. Shinchōsha, 1914. Reprinted in Vol. 5 of *Hōgetsu's Complete Works*. Ten'yūsha, 1919.

"*Hamlet*" *and a Study of the Play*, by Tsubouchi Shikō. Fuzambō, 1918.

Romeo and Juliet, by Hayashi Yasushi. Gahōsha, 1918.

IV.—Translations of Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*.

As You Like It, by Fujita Meikaku. No. 1 of Pictorial Serials of Tales from Shakespeare. Shunmuro, 1883.

The Merchant of Venice, by Inoué Tsutomu. Kinkodō, 1883. Reprinted by Nomura Ginjirō in 1886, by Kakumeidō in the same year, by Ginkadō in 1887, and by Kōchisha in 1896.

Measure for Measure, by Nitta Keijirō. Chūkindō, 1886.

Tales from Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Merchant of Venice*) [by Kinoshita Shinzaburō(?)]. Shinada Takichi, 1886.

King Lear, translated and published by Takeuchi Yojojirō, 1886.

Romeo and Juliet, by Kinoshita Shinzaburō. Seishidō, 1887.

Pericles, by Akashi Shinzaburō (Kinoshita Shinzaburō). Shinada Takichi, 1887.

All's Well that Ends Well, by Wada Mankichi. Chōudō, 1888.

The Taming of the Shrew, by Nitta Keijirō. Seishinsha, 1888.

The Tempest, by Nitta Keijirō. Seishinsha, 1888.

Timon of Athens, by Nitta Keijirō. Nishihara Kiichi, 1888.

Hamlet, by Inoué Tsutomu. Kunoki Nobuyoshi, 1888.

The Taming of the Shrew, by an unknown translator. Included in Vol. 8 of Lives of the World's Hundred Greatest Men series. Hakubunkan, 1890.

Othello, by Jōno Dempei. Hakubunkan, 1893.

A Midsummer Night's Dream, by Shima Kasui (or Bunjirō). Included in *A Literary Miscellany for Summer Reading*, compiled by Chūgakusha. Chūgaku Shoin, 1899.

Hamlet, by Shōan. Nakanishiya Shoten, 1901.

Tales from Shakespeare, containing *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, and *Twelfth Night*, by Sugitani Daisui. Fuzambō, 1903.

Tales from Shakespeare, containing *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice*, by Nakashima Kotō. Fuzambō, 1903.

Ten Tales from Shakespeare (*King Lear*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Tempest*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *A Winter's Tale*), by Komatsu Takeharu. Hitaka Yūrindō, 1904. Hakubunkan, 1907.

The Merchant of Venice, a verse translation, by Tomikashi Banshin (or Kanjirō). Yūhōdō, 1908.

Hamlet, by Nakagawa Ryūgai. Tōsendō, 1908.

King Lear, by Jōno Dempei. Ōkawa Shoten, 1909.

Tales from Shakespeare, by Momoshima Misao. Naigai Shuppan Kyōkai, 1909.

The Merchant of Venice, by Yoshioka Kōyō. Shun'yōdō, 1910.

Hamlet, by Sōma Gyofū. Fuzambō, 1911.

Hamlet, by Takano Hanzan. Shun'yōdō, 1911.

The above mentioned translations were all published during the Meiji era. Of the many translations of stories from Shakespeare that have appeared since, the following three merit special

notice. The last two each contain the translation of all twenty of Lamb's *Tales*.

Quiller-Couch's *Tales from Shakespeare's Histories*, by Komatsu Takeharu. Hokubundō, 1914.

Lamb's "*Tales from Shakespeare*", by Hirata Tokuboku. Contained in Vol. 11 of The World's Literary Masterpieces (世界名作大觀), 2nd Series. Kokumin Bunko Kankōkai, 1927.

Lamb's "Tales from Shakespeare", by Nogami Yayoiko. Iwanami Shoten, 1932.

V.—Biographies (comprising books either wholly or partly devoted to Shakespeare's life) and Studies. Histories of English literature are omitted here. For the treatment of Shakespeare in them, see Chapter VII of the text.

Western Biographical Dictionary in Alphabetical Order (伊呂波分西洋人名字引), by Yoshida Isoho. Published by the author, 1879. Reprinted under the title of *Short Lives of Western Sages* in the following year.

Mirror of Famous Occidentals (泰西名士鑑), translated by Inui Tatsuo and Nakahara Junzō from *Fifty Famous Men, etc.* Koizumidō, 1880.

A Short Life of William Shakespeare, contained in Vol. III, No. 2 (1887) of the *Bungaku Zasshi*, organ of the Japanese Literary and Scientific Circle, a branch of the Chautauqua L. S. C.

A New Encyclopædia for Practical Education (實用教育新撰百科全書), Vol. 22, compiled by Sonoda Raishirō. Hakubunkan, 1889.

An International Biographical Dictionary (萬國人名字書), Vol. 1, compiled by Yamada Taketarō. Hakubunkan, 1893.

Lives of English and American Men of Letters (英米文人傳), compiled by Ōwada Tateki. Hakubunkan, 1894.

Short Lives of Western Sages (西洋賢哲小傳), compiled by Inoué Enryō. Tetsugakkan, 1900.

Shakespeare, by Nakamura Yoshio. Vol. 21 of Stories from the World's History series. Hakubunkan, 1901.

An Outline History of the British Drama (英國戲曲略史), by Shima Bunjirō. Hōbunkan, 1903.

A Literary Encyclopædia (文藝百科全書), compiled by Shimamura Hōgetsu. Ryūbunkan, 1909.

Shakespeare, a New Translation (新譯シエクスピア),

compiled by Sasayama Jun'ichi from Hazlitt, Coleridge, Dowden, etc. Seikadō Shoten, 1910.

Encyclopædia Japonica (日本百科大辭典), Vol. 4, containing *Shakespeare* by Tsubouchi Shōyō and Nakashima Katō. Compiled by Saitō Seisuke. Sanseidō, 1910.

A Study of the Play "Hamlet" (ハムレット劇研究), by Hirata Motokichi. Fuzambo, 1910.

A Correspondence Course in Literature (文章講義錄), containing Yūhō Ujin's *Shakespeare*. Compiled by Satō Yoshiaki. Nippon Bunshō Gakuin, 1912.

The Ancient History of Japan, Based on a Study of World History (世界史的研究に基づける日本太古史), by Kimura Takatarō. Hakubunkan, 1912. In Vol. 1 of this book Hamlet and some other characters in the play are identified with figures in Japanese tradition.

Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and its Oriental Materials (沙翁のハムレット及東洋的材料), by Kimura Takatarō. Meicho Hyōronsha, 1915.

Shakespeare, His Life and Art (シエクスピア彼の生立及び藝術), by Saitō Takeshi. Teibisha, 1916.

Stories of the World's Great Men (世界偉人譚), containing *Shakespeare, King of Literature*. Compiled by Inamura Ro'en. Bun'yōdō, 1917.

Lives of the World's Thirty Greatest Men (世界三十偉人錄), compiled by Nishimura Fuminori and Kurimura Kimizō. Kokumin Shoin, 1918.

Shakespeare, a translation from Taine's *History of English Literature*, by Kimura Sōta. Vol. 8 of the Human-Documents (人類の本) series. The Atarashiki Mura Press, 1924.

The World's Two Hundred Greatest Writers (世界二百文豪), compiled by Tae Fumio. Shun'yōdō, 1924.

The Shakespearian Stage and its History (沙翁舞臺とその變遷), by Ueda Seiji. (Posthumous publication). Iwanami Shoten, 1925.

Shakespeare, by Takahara Nobuo. Vol. 3 of Outlines of the World's Literature (世界文學大綱) series. Tōhō Shuppansha, 1926.

Introduction to the Study of Shakespeare (シエークスピア研究栞), by Tsubouchi Shōyō. Chūō Kōron Sha, 1928, 1935 (revised and enlarged).

Lectures on the British Drama (英國劇講話), by Abe Takashi. Sanseido, 1929.

Shakespeare's English, by Hosoé Itsuki. *Eigo Seinen* (The Rising Generation), April, 1929—March, 1931.

Studies in Shakespeare (シエークスピア研究), by Yokoyama Yūsaku. Taibunsha, 1931.

Shakespeare and World Literature (シエイクスピアと世界文學), by Honda Kenshō. Iwanami Sekai Bungaku series, 1933.

Shakespeare, by Doi Kōchi. Vol. 6 of English and American Men of Letters series (英米文學評傳叢書). Kenkyūsha, 1935.

Essays on Shakespeare (シエクスピア文集記), by Honda Kenshō Sakuhinsha, 1936.

Shakespeare in the Elizabethan Setting (處女王朝風景 — シエイクスピアを繞る —), by Hagitani Takehiko. Shūkōdō, 1936.

VI.—Bibliographies :—

A Shakespeare-Bibliography (沙翁書史), compiled by Ueda Bin. In a book entitled *Notes on Books* (讀書偶筆), published in 1906 by Maruzen & Co. in commemoration of the Railway Exhibition.

A Japanese Shakespeare-Bibliography (日本シェイクスピア書誌), compiled by Ichikawa Sanki and Yamaguchi Takemi. Kenkyūsha. In *The Study of English* (英語研究), a monthly magazine, Vol. XXIII, No. 12—Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (March—April 1931), Vol. XXIV, Nos. 3—6, 8—10 (June—Sept. 1931, Nov. 1931—Jan. 1932), Vol. XXV, Nos. 5—11 (Aug. 1932—Feb. 1933).

A Catalogue of Books Relating to Shakespeare in Japan (日本沙翁書目集覽). 1st Series, compiled by Yamaguchi Takemi. Shisendō, 1933.